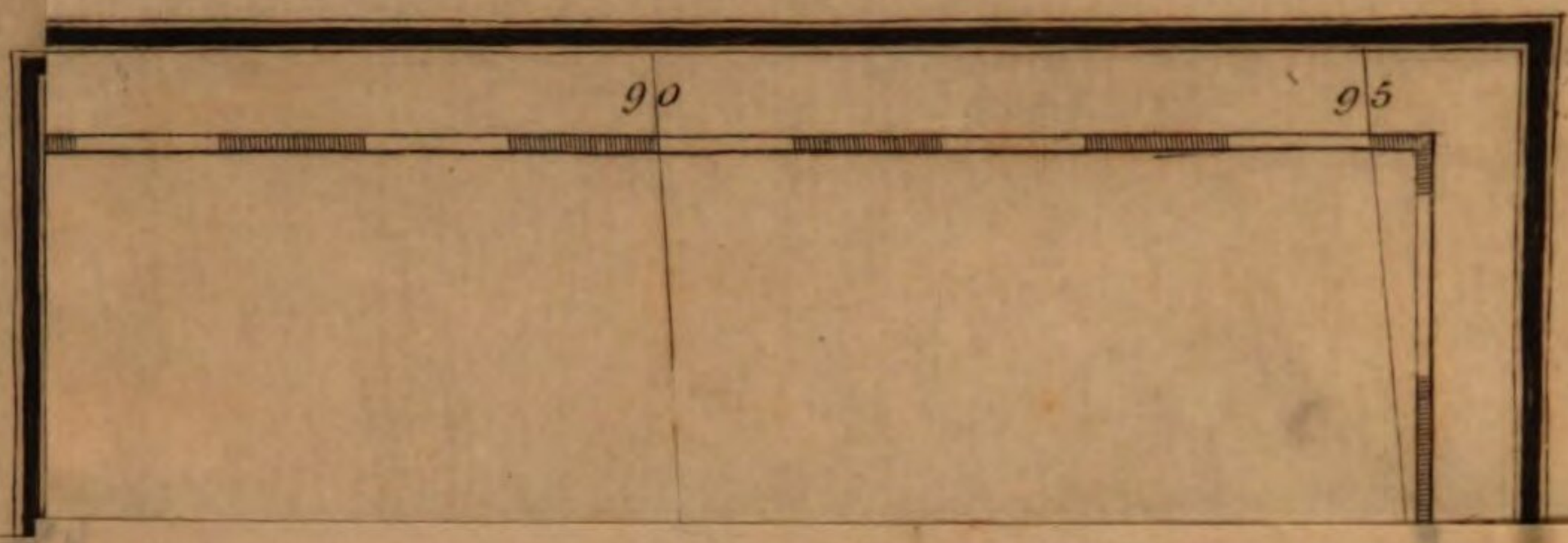
trouve
airie Française
trangère de
ALIGNANI,
ienne, N.° 18.
Paris.

3559 Bibl. Mont
-1

<3663562516001O

<3663562516001O

Bayer. Staatsbibliothek


90
95

# BRITISH INDIA.

## VOL. I.

OLIVER & BOYD, EDINBURGH.

# BRITISH INDIA.

## VOL. I.

OLIVER & BOYD, EDINBURGH.

# HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE

# ACCOUNT

OF

# BRITISH INDIA,

FROM

THE MOST REMOTE PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME:

Including

A NARRATIVE OF THE EARLY PORTUGUESE AND ENGLISH VOYAGES, THE REVOLUTIONS IN THE MOGUL EMPIRE, AND THE ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BRITISH POWER: WITH ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ZOOLOGY—BOTANY—CLIMATE, GEOLOGY, AND MINERALOGY:—ALSO MEDICAL OBSERVATIONS,—AN ACCOUNT OF THE HINDOO ASTRONOMY—THE TRIGONOMETRICAL SURVEYS—AND THE NAVIGATION OF THE INDIAN SEAS.

---


BY

HUGH MURRAY, ESQ., F. R. S. E.

JAMES WILSON, ESQ., F. R. S. E. AND M. W. S.

R. K. GREVILLE, LL. D.

PROFESSOR JAMESON;

WHITELAW AINSLIE, M. D., M. R. A. S.,

Late of the Medical Staff of Southern India;

WILLIAM RHIND, ESQ., M. R. C. S.

PROFESSOR WALLACE;

AND CAPTAIN CLARENCE DALRYMPLE,

Hon. East India Company's Service.


---

WITH A MAP, AND TWENTY-SIX ENGRAVINGS BY BRANSTON.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

## VOL. I.

SECOND EDITION.

---


EDINBURGH:

OLIVER & BOYD, TWEEDDALE-COURT;

AND SIMPKIN & MARSHALL, LONDON.

MDCCCXXXIII.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

[ENTERED IN STATIONERS' HALL.]

---

OLIVER & BOYD, Printers.

# PREFACE.

THE great and increasing favour experienced by the EDINBURGH CABINET LIBRARY has induced the Publishers to employ the utmost exertion to make the present work, as it is more extensive than any of its predecessors, still more deserving of public approbation. To embody in a popular form and moderate compass a full view of the History, the Natural Features, the Political and Social State of BRITISH INDIA, was, they were sensible, a task which could be better accomplished by a combination of varied talents than by any one individual. Under this impression they engaged the co-operation of a number of gentlemen whose abilities and acquirements have raised them to the first eminence in their respective departments of literature and science. These distinguished persons embarked in the undertaking with a full sense of its importance, and each with an ardent zeal to contribute his share in rendering this work more complete than any yet given to the world respecting British India. The Publishers trust they may confidently assert that information, derived from the most authentic sources, has been in every instance employed with judicious care.

Mr MURRAY, author of the historical and descriptive department, commences with a general account of the grand Natural Features of India, leaving to his scientific coadjutors the task of illustrating them in detail. He then proceeds to exhibit that splendid series of discovery and triumph by which the Portuguese achieved the Maritime Passage to India, and established their sway over a great

extent of its shores. These events, which to the importance of truth add the interest of romance, being narrated in voluminous works in a foreign language, were never before combined in a form suited to general perusal. The early Voyages and Settlements of the English also include many incidents characteristic of the enterprise that paved the way for the amazing power at which the nation has now arrived.

After the discovery and early trade with India, the next object is its History. This necessarily commences with the Mohammedan invasion, the remotest period concerning which authentic records exist. A comprehensive view is taken of the Revolutions of the Patan and Mogul Dynasties, the most splendid in the East, and the story of which is diversified with striking vicissitudes of rise and fall—of grandeur and humiliation—of cruelty and the benevolent exercise of power. Particular attention has been paid to the internal economy of this powerful court; a subject hitherto much overlooked, yet for which ample materials are afforded both by Oriental records and by the observations of intelligent European travellers.

Attention is next attracted by a train of events which are at once memorable in the military annals of the world, and deeply interesting to this country. This is the Conquest of India by the British; when a few merchants, with a handful of troops, and struggling against European rivalry, subverted all the states which had sprung from the ruins of the Mogul empire, and became arbiters of the destiny of upwards of One Hundred Millions of human beings placed at the opposite extremity of the globe. In this important recital the writer has collected into one view the incidents which distinguished the several contests, instead of passing repeatedly from one to another, and carrying them all forward with a regard to nothing but the order of time. This plan,

followed with such success by Mr Hallam in his History of the Middle Ages, renders the narrative more perspicuous as well as more interesting.

The historical portion of the work concludes with a description of the Present State of British India. An account is given of the celebrated people by whom it is inhabited, whose mythology, literature, arts, and social institutions, exhibit a marked dissimilarity to those of Europe, yet bear the impress of high civilisation extending to a remote period. The next object is to show the arrangements by which the Company, with so inconsiderable a force of British troops, hold these immense dominions in subjection. It was thought of importance to explain the different situations in which young men go out to India, the mode and terms of their appointment, and the manner in which their life is spent during their residence in that country. Attention is also directed to the different branches of industry carried on in the great eastern empire. A condensed summary is added of the valuable information respecting the commerce of India, recently collected by parliamentary inquiry, but which, being scattered through voluminous reports, is not accessible to the general reader.

The Natural History of this extensive region has hitherto been imperfectly recorded. The active exertions, however, of enlightened individuals, liberally supported or employed by the Company, have lately collected a great mass of materials; though, being dispersed in numerous costly volumes, it required the assistance of able writers to arrange and methodize them. The illustrations of the Zoology of India, by Mr Wilson; of its Botany, by Dr Greville; and of its Climate, Geology, and Mineralogy, by Professor Jameson, exhibit in a condensed form all the grand phenomena which these departments of nature present.

The magnificent quadrupeds which roam through the forest and mountain territories; the birds of rich plumage; the numberless insects—all differing from those which animate our northern climates—afford Mr Wilson an opportunity of displaying his profound acquaintance with Zoology, and his powers of spirited and picturesque delineation.

Dr Greville, whose publications have enrolled him in the first class of living botanists, has found in the varied vegetation of this finely-watered country ample scope for his talent of accurate description. In regard to this particular branch of the science he has derived great advantages from his intimate connexion with Dr Wallich, whose exertions, under the munificent patronage of the Company, have brought such vast accessions to our knowledge of Oriental Botany.

Professor Jameson, who has long stood at the head of geological science in Scotland, has diligently collected all the facts yet obtained respecting the structure and composition of the vast mountain-ranges by which India is traversed. In connexion with the Geology and Mineralogy, he has illustrated the Hydrography, and also the Climate, both of which present many remarkable peculiarities.

The effects of the climate of India upon European constitutions are so very important that it was considered fortunate when Dr Ainslie, who had paid particular attention to this subject, undertook to communicate, under the head of Medical Observations, such directions as might be most useful to those who are to continue the greater part of their lives in that country. This article, besides the information which it conveys to individuals, will be found to contain remarks that may be advantageously considered by the Company in regard to a judicious selection of recruits for their military service.

The diseases of India having been mentioned, it was impossible not to assign a prominent place to Spasmodic Cholera, that awful malady, which, wafted from its distant shores, has spread dismay over so many lands, and now prevails in the heart of Britain. The ample reports published at the different presidencies, and the most valuable of the recent publications at home, have been carefully consulted. From these materials, joined to personal observation during the prevalence of the distemper at Musselburgh, Mr RHIND has drawn up a concise view both of the symptoms and treatment in India, and of the modifications which these have undergone in our own country, —thus affording not only a view of the disease when it first broke out, but hints from the experience of physicians at home, which may be of advantage to other practitioners.

The Astronomical Knowledge and Computations of the Hindoos have been the subject of much discussion among the learned in Europe; hence the dissertation on these points, by a gentleman so well qualified to explain them as Professor WALLACE, cannot fail to gratify the reader. He has also enriched the work by an account of the extensive Trigonometrical Surveys performed by Colonel Lambton on the Peninsula of India.

The voyage to India, undertaken both for purposes of commerce and for the conveyance of passengers, has become an object of national concern. The Publishers, therefore, procured from Captain CLARENCE DALRYMPLE an account of the Navigation, with instructions concerning the choice of vessels and outfit, very useful to those about to proceed to the East. Having obtained the valuable aid of James Horsburgh, Esq., F.R.S., Hydrographer to the Honourable East India Company, Captain Dalrymple has not only noticed all the particulars interesting to the public, but brought forward a series of authentic sailing-

instructions, which, embracing as they do the late observations of Captain Owen, may be of much advantage to professional men. The project of a new mode of communication with India,—in steam-vessels by the Red Sea,—also demanded attention. This subject had received the mature consideration of one long versant in all that relates to the interests of India,—Sir John Malcolm; and the reader will find the views of that distinguished officer communicated to the public in the paper of Captain Dalrymple.

To present so large a body of information, in the compass and shape originally contemplated, was found to be impossible; but the difficulty has been obviated in a way which does not swell the bulk of the work nor increase its price. By the use of a smaller but very distinct type in the concluding articles, the third volume is made to embrace nearly double the quantity of matter usually inserted in the same number of pages.

The Map has been constructed on as large a scale as could be conveniently introduced. The most anxious care has been taken to render it complete; so that it may be useful as a general map of India, as well as specially illustrative of the present volumes. With this view not only every object and place in itself important has been inserted, but also the villages and detached spots, which have been the theatre of any remarkable occurrence mentioned in the course of the work.

EDINBURGH, 31*st March* 1832.

# CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

---

## CHAPTER I.

### GENERAL VIEW OF THE NATURAL FEATURES OF INDIA.

Great Importance always Attached to India—Its Outline and Boundaries—General Aspect—The Great Central Plain—Provinces of which it is Composed—Vegetable and Animal Productions—The Great Desert—Mountain-region of the Himmaleh—Belt or Border of Thick Jungle—Tract of Lower Hills—Elevated Ranges—Their Steep and Rugged Character—Change in Vegetable and Animal Nature—The Different River-glens—Valleys—Cashmere, Central Region of the Himmaleh—Awful Scenery—Dangerous Passes—Difficulty of Respiration—Sources of the Jumna and Ganges—Pilgrimage—The Deccan—Ranges of Hills—The Ghauts—Opposite Coasts—Central Table-plains—Scenery—Influence of the Physical Character upon the Political State of these Different Regions,.....Page 17

## CHAPTER II.

### KNOWLEDGE OF INDIA AMONG THE ANCIENTS.

India early Known to the Ancients—Accounts of its Trade in Scripture—Bacchus—Sesostris—Expedition of Semiramis—Conquest by Darius—Accounts by Herodotus and Ctesias—Expedition of Alexander—He is Obliged to Return—Voyage down the Indus—Voyage of Nearchus—Alexander's March through Gedrosia—Accounts of India Obtained by this Channel—Kingdoms of Syria

and Bactria—Mercantile Voyage from Egypt to India—Coasts which were then Visited,.....Page 45

## CHAPTER III.

### PORTUGUESE DISCOVERY OF THE PASSAGE TO INDIA.

Maritime Power of Portugal—Voyages along the Coast of Africa—Discovery of the Senegal and Gambia—Of the Gold Coast—Of Congo—Bartholomew Diaz Discovers the Cape of Good Hope—Mission of Covilham and De Payva—Expedition of Vasco de Gama—He passes the Cape—Touches at Mozambique, Mombaza, and Melinda—Arrives at Calicut—Visit to the Zamorin—Differences with him and the Moors—Departure—Voyage round Africa—Return to Portugal,.....71

## CHAPTER IV.

### PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS AND CONQUESTS IN INDIA.

Expedition of Cabral—Discovery of Brazil—Passage of the Cape—Arrival at Calicut—Friendly Reception—Quarrels with the Moors—Factory Destroyed—Hostile Proceedings—Establishment at Cochin—Return—Juan de Nueva—Second Voyage of Gama—His severe Proceedings at Calicut—Visits Cochin—Wars between Calicut and Cochin—Exploits of Pacheco—Lope Soarez—Almeyda—Maritime War in Guzerat—Albuquerque—Unsuccessful Attempt on Calicut—Reduction of Goa—Expulsion from that City—Its Recovery—Means employed for Cementing the Portuguese Power—Conquest of Malacca—Of Ormuz—Albuquerque is Superseded—Dies—Extent of Portuguese Dominion—Remarkable Sieges of Diu—General Confederacy against the Portuguese—Defeated—Their Decline—Wars with the Dutch—With the English—Low State of their Power,.....104

## CHAPTER V.

### EARLY ENGLISH VOYAGES AND SETTLEMENTS.

Importance always attached to Indian Trade—Mission by Alfred—The English attempt to penetrate to India by the North-East, and through Russia—By the North-West—Voyage of Drake—Of Cavendish—Newbery and Fitch, by Way of Aleppo and Ormuz—Fitch visits many Parts of India—First English Voyage by the Cape—Its Disasters—An Association formed—Voyage of Lancaster—Middleton—Michelborne—Keeling and Others—Sharpey—Loss of his Vessel—Sir Henry Middleton—His Adventures at Surat—Hippon—Settlements on Coromandel—Saris—Profits of the Trade—Quarrels with the Dutch—Massacre at Amboyna—Acquisition of Bombay—Settlements on the Coromandel Coast—In Bengal—Disputes with the Mogul—Company begin to form Plans of Conquest,.....Page 165

## CHAPTER VI.

### EARLY MOHAMMEDAN CONQUESTS IN INDIA.

Rise of the Mohammedan Power—Conquests in Central Asia—The Samanian Dynasty—Abistagi—Subuktagi—Mahmoud the Ghiznevide—His Twelve Expeditions into India—Victory in Lahore—Successive Conquests of Bimé; Tanassar; Kanouge; Muttra; Sumnaut—His Death—Character—Anecdotes—Literature of the Court of Ghizni—Ferdusi—Oonsuri—Abu Rihan—Decline of the Ghiznian House—Subverted by that of Ghori—Mohammed Ghori—His Conquests in India—Cuttub conquers Delhi and makes it his Capital,.....214

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE PATAN OR AFGHAN DYNASTY.

Cuttub-ul-Dien founds this Dynasty—Altumsh—Sultana Rizia—Mahmoud II.—His ascetic Severity—Balin—Brilliant Patronage of the Arts and Sciences—Kei Kobad and Kera—Allah I.—His brave and fierce Reign—Conquest of Southern India—Adventures of the Princesses Cumladè and Dewildè—Anarchy—Several short Reigns—Mohammed III.—His Cruelty—Ferose III.—Short Reigns and general Disorder—Timur—His Character—Invasion of India—Capture of Delhi, and dreadful Massacre—His Return—Succession of Emperors—Conquest by Baber—Close of the Patan Dynasty,.....Page 241

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE MOGUL DYNASTY TO AURENGZEBE.

Baber—His Death and Character—Humaioon—His Exploits—Driven from the Empire—Misfortunes—Reign of Shere—Humaioon returns, and again mounts the Throne—Akbar succeeds—His daring Achievements—Mode of governing—Ayeen Akberry—Portuguese Missions from Goa—Reign of Jehangire—Visit of Hawkins—Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe—The Mogul Court—Rebellions against Jehangire—His Death—Reign of Shah Jehan—Rebellion of Lodi—Sons of Shah Jehan—Their Contests for the Sovereignty—Success of Aurengzebe—Dethrones his Father and becomes Emperor,.....270

## CHAPTER IX.

### AURENGZEBE—DECLINE OF THE MOGUL DYNASTY.

Aurengzebe opposed by his Brothers, Dara and Sujah—Defeat of Sujah—Capture and Death of Dara—Defection of the Prince Mohammed, who is obliged to surrender—Death of Sujah—Aureng-

zebe's Treatment of Shah Jehan—His Administration—Defects of Mogul Government—Anecdotes furnished by Bernier—Danger of Persian War—Fakir Insurrection—Disturbance in Cabul—Conquest of the Deccan—Rise of the Mahratta Power—Exploits of Sevajee—His Death and Character—Sambajee's Reign and Death—Character of the Mahratta Armies—Bigotry of Aurengzebe—His Death and Character—Shah Allum—The Seiks—Their Progress checked—Character and Death of Shah Allum—Contests for the Empire—The Syeds—Nizam-ul-Mulk and Saadut Khan—Invasion by Nadir Shah—Sack of Delhi—Distracted State of the Empire—Invasion by the Afghans—Contest between them and the Mahrattas—Battle of Panniput—The Mogul Dynasty reduced to entire Insignificance,.....Page 324

## CHAPTER X.

### BRITISH CONQUEST OF THE CARNATIC.

First Territorial Acquisitions—War between France and England—Early Settlements of the French—Their Establishment at Pondicherry—Enterprises of Labourdonnais—He takes Madras—Superseded by Dupleix—Pondicherry besieged—Conclusion of Peace—English Expedition to Tanjore—Contests for the Sovereignties of Southern India—The French interpose—Gain a complete Victory—They are expelled by Nazir Jung—The English join him—His Death—Succession and Death of Mirzapha Jung—Salabat Jung—Exploits of Clive—Advantages over the French—Their Influence in the Deccan—Form a Confederacy against the English—Siege of Trichinopoly—Acquisitions of the French—Recall of Dupleix—Treaty concluded—The Colleries—War of 1756—Lally takes the Command—Reduces Fort St David—Siege of Madras—Raised—French defeated at Wandewash—Siege of Pondicherry—Its Surrender—Cruel Treatment of Lally in France,.....375

## ENGRAVINGS IN VOL. I.


MAP of Indostan,.....*To face the Vignette.*

VIGNETTE—Group of Figures—Bramins, Cshatrya, and Rajpoot Prince.

Tiger Hunting,.....*Page* 25

Source of the Jumna,..... 37

City of Benares,.....177

Fort Gwalior,.....243

The Taj Mahal,.....311

Gate of the Palace of Delhi,.....323

Pagoda at Tanjore,.....390

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE

# ACCOUNT

OF

# BRITISH INDIA.

## CHAPTER I.

### *General View of the Natural Features of India.*

Great Importance always Attached to India—Its Outline and Boundaries—General Aspect—The Great Central Plain—Provinces of which it is Composed—Vegetable and Animal Productions—The Great Desert—Mountain-region of the Himmaleh—Belt or Border of Thick Jungle—Tract of Lower Hills—Elevated Ranges—Their Steep and Rugged Character—Change in Vegetable and Animal Nature—The Different River-glens—Valleys—Cashmere, Central Region of the Himmaleh—Awful Scenery—Dangerous Passes—Difficulty of Respiration—Sources of the Jumna and Ganges—Pilgrimage—The Deccan—Ranges of Hills—The Ghauts—Opposite Coasts—Central Table-plains—Scenery—Influence of the Physical Character upon the Political State of these Different Regions.

Of all the countries on the Asiatic continent, India, from the earliest ages, has excited the greatest interest, and enjoyed the highest celebrity. The exploits of the conquerors who made it the object of their warlike expeditions, as also the splendid pro-

ductions of nature and art which were thence imported, procured for it a great name even in the remotest eras of classical antiquity. It has all along appeared to the imagination of the Western World as adorned with whatever is most splendid and gorgeous; glittering as it were with gold and gems, and redolent of fragrant and delicious odours. Though there be, in these magnificent conceptions, something romantic and illusory, still India forms unquestionably one of the most remarkable regions that exist on the surface of the globe. The varied grandeur of its scenery, with the rich and copious productions of its soil, are not equalled in any other country. It is also extremely probable that it was, if not the first, at least one of the earliest seats of civilization, laws, arts, and of all the improvements of social life. These, it is true, have at no period attained to the same pitch of advancement as among Europeans; but they have, nevertheless, been developed in very original and peculiar forms, displaying human nature under the most striking and singular aspects.

The strong interest which India in itself is thus calculated to excite, must to us be greatly heightened by the consideration of its having become so completely a province of the British empire. The government of this country now directs the fortunes of a hundred millions of people placed at the opposite extremity of the globe; and hence the well-being of the state is intimately suspended on that of this vast dependency. The connexion, too, is peculiarly strengthened by the great number of British subjects who are constantly going out to administer the affairs of that important colony. Closer personal ties, in many instances, are thereby formed with our eastern settle-

ments than with the different provinces of Britain itself. Thousands, to whom Cornwall and Devonshire are almost strange lands, are connected by the most intimate social relations with Madras and Calcutta. For such persons the history and description of our Indian possessions, independently of the grandeur of the subject and its connexion with national wealth and power, must have a peculiar interest, as being closely associated with the pursuits and prospects of their dearest friends.

India is enclosed by very grand natural boundaries. Its whole northern frontier is separated from the high table-land of Thibet by the chain of the Himmaleh Mountains, which, by recent observation, appears to reach at least as great a height as any other ridge by which the globe is traversed. The western and eastern limits are formed by the lower course of two great rivers,—the Indus on one side, and the Brahmapoutra on the other. The southern portion consists of a very extensive peninsula surrounded by the Ocean. Other countries have often been comprehended under the general appellation of India,—particularly Cabul and Candahar, which ranked long as provinces belonging to the Mogul emperors; but this was in consequence of these warlike rulers having conquered India, and transferred thither the seat of their empire. These districts, it is obvious, bear a much closer relation to Persia and Tartary; and when they are included in India, that country being extended beyond its great river-line on the north-west, has in that direction no longer any decided natural boundaries. But within the limits above drawn, we shall find a religion, languages, manners, and institutions, char-

acteristic of this region, and distinguishing it from all the other countries of Asia.

India, thus defined, though some of its extremities have not been very precisely determined, may be described generally as lying between the 8th and 34th degrees of north latitude, and the 68th and 92d of east longitude. It thus extends somewhat above 1800 miles from north to south, and at its greatest breadth nearly 1500 from east to west.

In treating of this extensive and important country, it will be useful to begin with a general survey of its natural qualities and geographical features. These are distinguished at once by their grandeur and their variety. India is, as it were, an epitome of the whole earth. It has regions that bask beneath the brightest rays of a tropical sun, and others, than which the most awful depths of the Polar world are not more dreary. The varying degrees of elevation produce here the same changes that arise elsewhere from the greatest difference of position on the earth's surface. Its vast plains present the double harvests, the luxuriant foliage, and even the burning deserts of the torrid zone; the lower heights are enriched by the fruits and grains of the temperate climates; the upper steeps are clothed with the vast pine forests of the north; while the highest pinnacles are buried beneath the perpetual snows of the Arctic zone. We do not in India, as in Africa and the Polar Regions, see nature under one uniform aspect; we have to trace her gradual, yet rapid transitions, between the most opposite extremes that can exist on the surface of the same planet.

The main body, as it were, of India, the chief scene of her matchless fertility, and the seat of

her great empires, is composed of a plain extending along its entire breadth from east to west, between the Brahmapoutra and the Indus; and reaching across from the great chain of mountains to the high table-land of the Southern Peninsula. It may thus possess a length of 1500 miles, with an average breadth of from 300 to 400. The line of direction is generally from south-east to north-west, following that of the vast mountain-range which bounds it on the north, and from whose copious streams its fruitfulness is derived. With the exception, perhaps, of the country watered by the great river of China, it may be considered the finest and most fertile on the face of the earth. The whole of its immense surface, if we leave out an extensive desert-tract to be presently noticed, forms one continuous level of unvaried richness, and over which majestic rivers, with slow and almost insensible course, diffuse their sea-like expanse.

Of this general character of the Indian plain, the province of Bengal presents the most complete and striking example. Its wide surface is not diversified with a rock, or even a hillock. The Ganges pours through it a continually widening stream, which, during the rainy season, covers a great extent with its fertilizing inundation. From this deep, rich, well-watered soil, the sun, beating with direct and intense rays, calls forth an almost unrivalled power of vegetation, and makes it one entire field of waving grain. Bahar, higher up the current, has the same general aspect, though its surface is varied by some slight elevations; but Allahabad, higher still, is mostly low, warm, and fruitful, exactly like Bengal. North of the river the provinces of Oude and Rohilcund,

sloping gradually upwards to the mountains, enjoy a more cool and salubrious climate, and display in profusion the most valuable products, both of Asia and Europe. Here the valley of the Ganges terminates, and is succeeded by that of the Jumna, more elevated, and neither so well watered nor quite so fertile. The Doab, or territory between the two rivers, cannot be made very productive without artificial irrigation, which during the late troublous periods has been much neglected. To the south of the Jumna, and along the course of its tributary the Chumbul, the surface is broken by eminences extending from the hills of Malwah and Ajmere; while, even amid its most level tracts, insulated rocks, with perpendicular sides and level summits, form those almost impregnable hill-forts so much celebrated in Indian history. Westward of Delhi begins the Great Desert, which we shall at present pass over to notice the plain of the Punjaub, were the five tributaries of the Indus, rolling their ample streams, reproduce the fertility and luxuriance of that which is watered by the Ganges. High cultivation, too frequently obstructed by public disorders and the ruder character of the people, is alone wanting to make it rival the finest portions of the more eastern territory.

Throughout the whole of this vast plain, the process of cultivation has effectually rooted out the original productions of nature, to substitute plants and grains studiously fitted for human use. Even under the most careful management, few of those delicate and exquisite shrubs are reared which have given celebrity to the vegetable kingdom of the East. Here are quite unknown those aromatic gales which per-

fume the hilly shores of Malabar and the oriental islands. Its staples consist of solid, rich, useful articles, such as are produced by strong heat acting on a deep, moist, and fertile soil,—rice, the eastern staff of life,—sugar, the most generally used of dietetic luxuries,—opium, whose narcotic qualities have made it every where so highly prized,—indigo, the most valuable substance used in dyeing,—and, in the drier tracts, cotton, which clothes the inhabitants of the East, and affords the material of the most delicate and beautiful fabrics. This entire subjection to the plough or the spade, joined to the want of variety in the surface, gives to this great central region a tame and monotonous aspect. Baber, its conqueror, complains, in his Memoirs, of the uniform and uninteresting scenery which every where met his eye, and looks back with regret to the lofty cliffs, the green slopes, and murmuring streams of his native land.

In spite, however, of every human effort, some tracts are left uncultivated in consequence of political disorder and misrule; while, in others, nature, under the combined influence of moisture and heat, makes efforts so powerful as to baffle all attempts to modify or control them. She then riots in unbounded luxuriance, and covers large tracts with that dense, dark, impenetrable mass of foliage and vegetation, crowded and twined together, which is called *jungle*, and which opposes an almost impassable barrier even to an army. Trees spreading on every side their gigantic arms,—thorny and prickly shrubs of every size and shape,—canes shooting in a few months to the height of sixty feet,—compose the chief materials of those close natural pali-

sades. Even in the open plain, the banian and other single trees, when full scope is given to their growth, spread out into the dimensions of a considerable forest.

From the cultivated regions the various classes of wild beasts are excluded with the utmost solicitude. Even the domestic species are not reared in great numbers, nor to any remarkable size or strength. There is a small cow with a hump, fit only for draught, but which the Hindoo regards as a sacred object. Light active steeds are bred by the natives for predatory excursions; while for regular military service the large and strong Turkish horse is preferred. But, on the other hand, the wooded tracts, where nature revels uncontrolled, are filled with huge and destructive animals. The two most remarkable quadrupeds are the elephant and the tiger. The former, of a species distinct from that of Africa, is here not merely pursued as game, but, being caught alive, is trained for the various purposes of state, hunting, and war. The tiger, the formidable tenant of the Bengal jungle, supplies the absence of the lion, and, though not quite equal in strength and majesty, is still more fierce and destructive. These two mighty animals are brought into conflict in the Indian hunts. The elephant is then used as an instrument for attacking his fiercer but less vigorous rival. The hunter, well armed, is seated on the back of this huge animal; and, in the first advance, the whole body of the assailants are ranged in a line. When the combat commences, the elephant endeavours either to tread down the tiger with his hoof, crushing him with the whole weight of his immense body, or he assails him with his long and powerful tusks.

Whenever either of these movements can be fully accomplished, the effect is irresistible; but the tiger, by his agility, and especially by his rapid spring resembling the flight of an arrow, often succeeds in fastening upon the legs and sides of his unwieldy adversary, and inflicts deep wounds while the latter is unable either to resist or to retaliate. Even the rider, notwithstanding his elevated seat and the use of arms, is not on such occasions wholly exempt from danger.

To complete the survey of the great Indian plain, there remains to be described, as already hinted, one feature wholly dissimilar to all the rest. Im-

mediately westward of the Jumna, the general level of the country attains a point of elevation, whence it descends on both sides; and all the rivers, flowing from the high mountain-range, roll either eastward and become tributary to the Ganges, or westward to pour their waters into the Indus. Between these two rivers and their respective branches there intervenes a considerable space, which is refreshed only by a few small rivulets that spring up and disappear amid the waste. Thus is formed a desert, of extent sufficient to compose a mighty kingdom, and occupying the whole breadth in that direction, from the mountains to the ocean. This entire region, about 600 miles long and 300 broad, presents an aspect nearly similar to the most dreary tracts of Arabia and Africa. According to the observations of Mr Elphinston, who crossed it in his way to Cabul, the eastern division consists of sand heaped often into hills of surprising elevation, and so loose that, whenever the horses quitted the path hardened by beating, they sunk above the knee. Over this wilderness, however, is scattered some coarse grass, with stunted and prickly shrubs; while in the midst of the sand there grow large water-melons, affording the most delicious refreshment to the thirsty traveller. At wide intervals are found villages, or rather clusters of mud huts, round which are reared crops of coarse grain and pulse, whose stalks, like shrubs, stand distinctly separate from each other. Yet a considerable population must be sprinkled over this immense desert, since Bikaneer, in its centre, presents, though on a small scale, the aspect of a city adorned with palaces, temples, and other spacious edifices. Westward of that town the soil is generally a hard clay, variegated only by mounds of

sand. Poogul, a village of straw huts, defended by a ruinous mud fort, encompassed with naked hills, and amid a sea of sand without a trace of vegetation, appeared a spot so desolate that it seemed astonishing how any human beings could make it their abode. On the more smooth and level portions of this dreary tract the traveller is tantalized by the phenomenon of *mirage,* producing before him the appearance of immense lakes that even reflect the surrounding objects ; and the illusion continues till he has almost touched the watery semblance, and finds it to consist of the same arid soil as the rest of the desert.

North of this great plain of India, and along its whole extent, towers the mountain-region of the Himmaleh, ascending gradually till it terminates in a long range of summits wrapped in perpetual snow. The inhabitant of the burning plains contemplates, not without wonder, this long array of white pinnacles forming the continuous boundary of the distant horizon. In this progressive ascent nature assumes a continually changing aspect ; and hence it will be necessary to view in succession the different stages through which she passes.

The Himmaleh range, where it touches on the champaign country, is almost every where girt with a peculiar belt or border, called the Tarryani. This term is applied to a plain about twenty miles broad, upon which the waters from the higher regions are poured down in such profusion that the river-beds are unable to contain them. They accordingly overflow, and convert the ground into a species of swamp, which, acted on by the burning rays of a tropical sun, throws up an excessively rank vegetation, whereby the earth is choked rather than covered. The

soil is concealed beneath a mass of dark and dismal foliage, while long grass and prickly shrubs shoot up so dense and so close as to form an almost impenetrable barrier. It is still more awfully guarded by the pestilential vapours exhaling from those dark recesses, which make it, at certain seasons, a region of death. Hence the destruction which overtakes an army that encamps for any length of time near this fatal valley,—an effect fatally experienced by the British detachments which were stationed on the frontiers of Bootan and Nepaul. Beneath these gloomy shades, too, the elephant, the tiger, and other wild animals, prowl unmolested; while the few human beings who occupy the vicinity present a meagre, dwarfish, and most sickly aspect.

In emerging from this dark and pestilential plain, and beginning to ascend the lower mountain-stages, a much more pleasing scene opens to the view. The observer passes through smiling and fruitful valleys, overhung by romantic steeps, and covered to a great extent with the noblest forests. Amid trees similar to those which spread their majestic foliage on the banks of the Ganges, various species of the more hardy oak and the pine begin to appear. Some possess rich juices and aromatic odours not found among the lower woods; as, that mimosa, the fluid extracted from which yields the medical substance called catechu, and a species of cinnamon or rather cassia, the virtue of which resides in its root. The views obtained from commanding points in these regions, consisting in a foreground of smiling and cultured vales, hills behind crowned with natural plantations, steeper and loftier ranges beyond, and in the distance the snow-clad pinnacles

of the highest mountain-chain, form a combination of the most sublime and enchanting scenery.

The Himmaleh, as it ascends above the picturesque regions which diversify its lower border, assumes a much bolder and severer aspect. The lofty ridge, the deep valley, the dashing torrent, produce a resemblance to the most elevated portions of our own central Highlands; and Scottish officers, accordingly, who happened to serve in that remote province, have fancied themselves wandering amid the romantic glens of their native country. Generally speaking, the character of this mountain-chain is rugged and stern; its ridges rise behind each other in awful array; they enclose no rural scenes, no spreading valleys or gentle undulations. Their steep sides, sometimes wooded, sometimes composed only of vast faces of naked rock, dip down abruptly, forming dark chasms and ravines, at the bottom of which there is only room for the torrent to force its way through rude fragments fallen from the cliffs above. A laborious task is imposed on the traveller, who has successively to mount and descend this series of lofty terraces, along rough and narrow paths that often skirt the most tremendous precipices. The expedients, too, provided for the passage of the rivers which dash through these gloomy hollows, are of the most slender and imperfect description. Two planks fastened to the point of opposite cliffs, called a *sanga* or sankha, are, in many cases, considered amply sufficient; others, called *jhulas*, are formed by ropes stretched across, making a species of loose parapet, and supporting a light ladder for the feet to rest upon. Mr Webb met with an instance where there were merely

stretched from bank to bank two or three ropes, round which the passenger was expected to coil himself, and work his way across, having a hoop for the back to rest upon; those who could not effect this movement were pulled across by a cord.

So generally irregular is the surface of this territory that great difficulty occurs in finding a level space on which to build their towns. It is supposed that, in the whole extent of country surrounding Serinagur, there could not have been discovered another place on which to have erected that small city; and there is no spot between it and the great plain where a thousand men could encamp. At Nahn the passenger mounts through the principal street by a stair cut in the rock. Rampore, the chief town in the valley of the Upper Sutledge, is reached only over ledges of rocks and flights of steps; its streets and houses rise in tiers above each other along the face of the steep, while the river foams and dashes beneath, and awful crags and precipices overhang it from above.

In consequence of this peculiar structure, these loftier regions of the Himmaleh do not present that tranquil grandeur, and those picturesque views, which render the mountain-scenery of Europe so enchanting. They are rugged, gloomy, and monotonous. The mighty summits overhang no soft pastoral valleys, nor wave with varied foliage, nor are reflected in the bosom of still and transparent lakes. The traveller, hemmed in between their steep precipices, sees only the dark grandeur of the chasm through which he winds. Sometimes, however, on reaching a high pinnacle, he finds himself in possession of a prospect bearing a character of the

most awful sublimity. A spot, raised almost to an immeasurable height above the plain beneath, proves only the base, whence seven or eight successive ranges tower towards heaven, and terminate at length in a line of snowy pinnacles.

From causes that seem somewhat mysterious, the southern slopes of these mountains are generally smooth and rather naked, while the northern faces are shattered and rocky, yet covered with vast masses of hanging wood. Amid these wilds, tall and majestic forests of pine, larch, spruce, and silver fir, sometimes even of cypress and cedar, grow, flourish, and decay, useless and unappropriated. There are no means of conveying the timber to any spot where it can be subservient to human use or ornament. With these trees are intermingled numerous bushes loaded with the fruit which forms the luxury of the northern regions of Europe; gooseberry, raspberry, strawberry, all unknown to the plains below. In sheltered and favourable spots, the wild rose, the lily of the valley, cowslip, dandelion, and various other flowers, are seen bursting through the green carpet. The trees and rocks in the higher districts are richly clothed with moss and lichen, the vegetation of the countries bordering on the Arctic Circle; a lichen has even been observed resembling that which flourishes in Iceland, and which is imported for medicinal purposes under the name of Iceland moss.

The animal world in this higher region undergoes a change equally striking. The elephant and tiger, the kings of the forests beneath, disappear, or are very seldom seen. Cattle and horses do not find a sufficient extent of level pasture; and hence sheep

and goats are the animals chiefly reared for the uses of domestic life. Depredations are chiefly committed by the wild cat, the bear, and the hog. The chamois bounds from rock to rock, and the forests are filled with deer of various species; of which the most rare and precious is that producing the musk. It is found only in the most lofty and inaccessible heights, amid rocks and forests which the human foot scarcely dares to tread. The most intense cold is so essential to its life, that the young, on being brought down to a warm situation, uniformly perish in a few days. The forests in all the more moderate heights are filled with flocks of such fowls as are elsewhere domesticated, here running about wild, tempting the pursuit of the sportsman; but, as they very seldom take wing, they are with difficulty reached by the gun. The peacock displays his glittering plumage only on the lower hills. The sovereign eagle is seldom descried amid the cliffs, which are inhabited by kites, hawks, and others of the minor predatory birds. Partridges and pheasants are numerous and of various species; the latter are even seen flying amid the snows at a great elevation. Bees swarm in all the lower districts, making their hives in the hollows of trees; these the natives plunder by merely raising a loud noise, which causes the swarm to issue forth and leave the honey unprotected.

The natural divisions of this high region are formed chiefly by the narrow valleys, or rather ravines, furrowed out by those mighty rivers which descend from the snowy heights to water the plains of Indostan. These glens, all deep, dark, and enclosed by lofty precipitous walls, have each, besides,

its own appropriate and peculiar aspect. A late traveller has enabled us to form some idea of the leading features which distinguish the valleys of the Sutledge, the Pabur, the Jumna, and the Bagiruttee, or principal head of the Ganges.

The glen of the Sutledge is little more than a profound and gloomy chasm, naked and precipitous, without the romantic beauty produced by swelling banks or fringing wood. Cultivation appears only on a few scattered patches; no villages smile along its border, though numerous forts frown over its steeps.—The Pabur, a tributary of the Jumna, presents a pleasing variety compared to this or to any other ravine of the Himmaleh. It rolls through a vale of moderate breadth; its banks and the slopes above are beautifully studded with fields, woods, and villages; while brown hills, tipped with rocks and snow, tower in the background.—The Jumna, again, has its borders generally bold, savage, and impracticable; all its higher tracts, too, consist of mighty rocks and precipices buried under huge masses of snow. Yet the lower grounds are wooded; and along the river are seen some green narrow vales, rising into slopes covered with cultivation and verdure, which diversify even its wildest scenes with a mixture of softness and elegance.—The banks of the Bagiruttee, a broader stream, which has worn a still deeper bed through the mountain-strata, are beyond all others repulsive, and equally destitute of beauty and life. These solitary steeps are only scantily clothed with the foliage of the sombre fir; the cliffs, shattered and splintered, are not even tinted with moss or lichen, but, bearing the dusky colours of

their natural fracture, shoot up on every side into pinnacles of amazing height.

But, notwithstanding the gloomy and uninviting aspect of these mountain-scenes, there are a few places in which they open out into smiling and cultivated plains of considerable extent. The valleys of Nepaul, indeed, besides being very narrow, belong rather to the region of the lower hills. Considerably higher is found the Rama Serai, or the Happy Valley, where little eminences, villages, and richly-cultivated fields, combine to form a delightful scene. But the most extensive opening takes place at its western extremity, where these great ridges recede and enclose the little kingdom of Cashmere, which, beyond any other spot on earth, seems to merit the appellation of a terrestrial paradise. Numerous rivulets flowing down the mountain-sides diffuse verdure and beauty over the hills and vales, and in the plains expand into an extensive lake, profusely adorned with all the pomp of art and nature. The Mogul sovereigns had erected on the banks of this sheet of water gay palaces and pavilions, to which they were wont to repair as their most pleasing retreat from the toils of empire. The poets vie with each other in celebrating the delights of this enchanting valley. They extol particularly the rose of Cashmere as possessing beauty without a rival, the opening of whose buds is held by their countrymen as a national festival. Lastly, the fair maidens of the district are represented as surpassing those of all the other countries of the East.

Beyond a succession of lofty eminences is seen towering, amid perpetual snows, the central mass of this enormous chain of mountains. It has been

estimated to extend more than a thousand miles in length, and about eighty in breadth, forming one continuous desert of precipices, rocks, and ice. In a few places only, a precarious track is formed by the Alpine torrent, dashing in an unbroken sheet of foam, through dark ravines, bordered by precipitous mountain-walls ascending above the clouds. Down the perpendicular faces of these stupendous avenues there rain almost continual showers of stony fragments, broken off and descending in ruins from the cliffs above. Sometimes large portions of rock are detached, and roll down in heaps, effacing every path which has been formed beneath, filling the beds of the rivers, and converting them into cataracts. The whole side of a mountain has been seen thus parted, and spread in fragments at its feet. Trees torn up and precipitated into the abyss, lie stretched with their branches on the earth, and their roots turned up to the sky. Yet through these tremendous passes, and across all these mighty obstructions, the daring industry of mortals has contrived to form tracks, narrow indeed, as well as fearful and perilous, but by means of which Thibet and India find it possible to exchange their respective commodities. Nothing, it is true, resembling a waggon, not even the ordinary beasts of burden, can pass this way. The goods are placed on the backs of goats and sheep, which alone can scramble along these precipitous routes, though, in other respects, these animals are ill fitted for such laborious employments. Goats, in descending, are often pressed down by the load, while sheep, if at all urged, are very apt to run,—a movement which is here attended with the utmost peril.

In passing along these stupendous heights, the traveller occasionally experiences a distressing sensation. The atmosphere, rarefied to excess, becomes nearly unfit for supporting respiration,—the action of the lungs is impeded,—the slightest fatigue overpowers him,—he stops at every three or four steps, gasping for breath,—the skin is sore, and blood bursts from the lips,—sometimes he is affected by giddiness in the head and a tendency to vertigo. The natives, who are also seized with these symptoms without being able to divine the physical cause, ascribe them to *bis,* or *bish,* meaning air poisoned, as they imagine, by the deleterious odour of certain flowers. A little observation would have shown them that the flowers in these regions have scarcely any scent; while it is in the most elevated tracts, where all vegetation has ceased, that the sensations in question become the most severe and oppressive.

The arrangements for facilitating a passage over these frightful cliffs are still more perilous than those employed on the lower declivities. Rude staircases are constructed along the precipices, by which the traveller is invited to make his way. The road in some places is formed merely by posts driven into the perpendicular sides of the steep, over which branches of trees and earth are spread, affording a narrow footpath, suspended at an awful height above the torrent, and shaking beneath the tread of the passenger.

Amid these awful scenes there are two spots peculiarly sacred and sublime; those, namely, where the Jumna and the Ganges, the two rivers destined to give grandeur and fertility to the plain of Indostan, burst from beneath the eternal snows. No

Source of the Jumna.

mortal foot has yet ascended to their original springs, situated in the most elevated recesses of the mountains. There they issue forth as torrents, amid broken masses of granite, to force their way through the deep glens of the middle Himmaleh. Above them, huge piles of rock and heaps of snow rise higher and higher, till they shoot up into the two amazing peaks of Roodroo Himala and Jumnavatari.

Jumnotree is situated at the foot of the immense mountain-mass of Bunderpouch, the upper section of which is entirely buried in snow; but the brow which overhangs the village is rendered green by the trickling of numberless rills that fall down and unite in a broad basin, the fountain of the Jumna. The highest peak which towers above is estimated by Mr Colebrooke at 25,500 feet, which, however, Mr Fraser suspects to be considerably overrated. The river is here swelled by numerous hot springs issuing from amid the rocky banks, or from pools in its own current. Captain Hodgson penetrated to several of these fountains that lay concealed beneath vast beds of snow, which, being melted by the exhalations, were formed into spacious halls resembling vaulted roofs of marble.

The mountain-scenery which surrounds Gangoutri, where the infant Ganges bursts into view, is still more sublime and amazing. The traveller winds his way to this place, clambering over steep rocks, or creeping along the face of precipices, where flights of steps are formed by posts driven into the crevices. At length he reaches the village, consisting only of a few huts and the temple dedicated to Mahadeo. Here the naked and pointed cliffs, shooting up to the skies, with confused masses of rock lying at their feet, and only a few trees rooting themselves in the deep chasms, make the spectator feel as if he trode on the ruins of a former world. Vast shattered precipices, which frown over the temple, have strewn the vicinity with enormous fragments of granite, destined probably one day to overwhelm the edifice itself. A few old pines throw a dark shade over the troubled waters,

whose roar is heard beneath, mingled with the stifled but fearful sound of the stones borne down by the current. Rocky heights shut in the prospect on every side except towards the east, where, behind a crowd of naked spires, the view is bounded by the four snowy peaks of Roodroo Himala.

Mr Fraser attempted to trace the Ganges above Gangoutri to a spot famous in India, under the appellation of "The Cow's Mouth," the river being represented as rushing there from beneath the snows through an aperture bearing that particular form. The ruggedness of the banks and other obstacles obliged him to return; but Captain Hodgson, after three days of severe toil and scrambling, reached this memorable spot, and saw the stream issuing from under a perpendicular wall of frozen snow, with numerous depending icicles, in a manner not very dissimilar to that which Indian report had led him to expect.

The two places above mentioned, with the lower shrines of Bhadrinath and Kedarnath, and generally the whole of this region, possess a peculiarly sacred character in the eyes of the Hindoo, and are the scene of many of the most remarkable fictions in his wildly-poetical mythology. They are esteemed the chosen dwelling of Siva or Mahadeo, the third personage in the Hindoo trinity, who, in withdrawing from Lunka or Ceylon, threw up, it is pretended, the Himmaleh as his place of retreat. Dewtas or spirits are imagined to haunt the most inaccessible glens, and by feigned sounds to allure the unfortunate passenger into their recesses, whence he never returns to the living world. Pilgrimage, the favourite form of Hindoo devotion, is most frequently

performed into these mysterious solitudes, where many, however, in attempting to penetrate by the rugged paths buried in snow, either perish, or lose partially the use of their limbs. The perilous obstacles which bar the approach to Gangoutri, deter the greater number of the devotees, who ascend from the great fair at Hurdwar, from proceeding beyond the lower shrine of Bhadrinath; which, in the year when Captain Webb was there, had been visited by between 45 and 50,000 pilgrims.

The Deccan or Southern Peninsula, which alone remains to be described, presents none of those singular features that distinguish the great central plain and its grand northern boundary. Hills occasionally rising to the rank of mountains, and enclosing table-lands of various elevation, diversify its surface, and secure for it at once the climate and vegetation of the tropical and of the temperate zones. The most prominent feature is a range of heights corresponding to the triangular form of the peninsula. The northern border consists in a tract of high country stretching across India from the Gulf of Cambay to the Bay of Bengal, chiefly along both banks of the Nerbudda, and composing the provinces of Malwa, Candeish, and Gundwana, to which has been given the appellation of Central India. From its extremities extend two parallel chains, called the Gates or Ghauts, which, at a greater or less distance, girdle the whole of the opposite coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. The Western Ghauts, which range along the Indian Ocean, are placed generally at a small distance from the sea, and sometimes approach so close that their cliffs are washed by its waves. More commonly removed from the

shore ten or twelve miles, they are seen to rear their peaks, which are crowned, not like those of the Himmaleh, with the trees of the temperate or arctic zones, but with the stately palms and aromatic shrubs which form the pride of tropical groves. The most valuable of these productions are the plant or vine bearing the pepper,—the betel, whose leaves are the universal masticatory in India,—the areca-palm, whose nut is chewed along with the betel,—the sago-palm, whence flows a rich and nourishing juice,—the cocoa-palm, so famed for its numerous and important uses. Higher than them all towers the teak-tree, whose timber, stronger and more durable than that of the British oak, forms the material of oriental navies.

The Eastern Ghauts, rising behind the Coromandel coast, are generally of a less lofty and rugged description, and leave a broader plain between them and the sea; yet, unless in the Deltas of the great rivers, this plain bears somewhat of a naked and arid character. There occur even extensive tracts of sandy soil impregnated with saline substances, with which the atmosphere is in some degree tainted. More to the north, in Orissa and the Circars, the high grounds often closely approach the sea, and consist to a great extent of mountain and jungle, continuing in a more uncultivated state, and peopled by more uncivilized races, than almost any other part of India.

These three ranges enclose a high table-land, elevated from two to four thousand feet above the level of the sea, and comprising the main body of Southern India. The south-western tract, the original seat of Mahratta power, forms a hilly coun-

try, not extremely rugged, but interspersed with deep valleys. It bears a decidedly highland character, fitted for the residence of a pastoral people of warlike and predatory habits. The central region, composing the once powerful kingdoms of Golconda and Bejapore, comprises extensive plains, secured by their elevation from the scorching heats which afflict the territory along the coast. The surface is generally level, and possesses much fertility, though diversified by those remarkable insulated steeps which form the almost impregnable hill-forts of India. The extreme southern district, called the Carnatic, is divided into two table-lands, the Balaghaut and the Mysore, more elevated and rugged than those of the Deccan, and on that account including a greater variety of climate, soil, and production.

The mountain-scenery of Southern India in general, though wanting those features which invest the Himmaleh with so awful and sublime a character, is beautiful, striking, and picturesque. It is more on the scale of that of Wales and Scotland, —with this peculiarity, that it never rises above the limit of the richest vegetation, and has its highest summits crowned with woods and verdure. The greater part is under cultivation; though there is distributed over it a considerable portion of jungle, rock, forest, and even of sandy waste.

The national and political condition of the different regions of India varies strikingly according to the peculiarities in their physical circumstances. The great central plain, for example, has generally, from the earliest ages, been the seat of an empire whose greatness and splendour have eclipsed those

of almost every other country. Some detached portions, as Bengal in the east, and the Punjaub in the west, have been frequently separated from the main body, but, under a vigorous and warlike dynasty, they have been as often reunited. It might have been expected that India, separated from other countries by a vast ocean and the loftiest mountain-barrier on earth, would have been secured from all except internal agitation; but nothing could arrest the progress of the avarice and ambition which were attracted by the fame of her wealth and splendour. That ocean has been passed,—those mountain-barriers have been scaled,—and India has for ages groaned, and continues to groan without hope of deliverance, under a foreign yoke.

The power which bears rule over this central empire has usually aspired to the dominion of the whole; but the success of this undertaking has been only partial and temporary. It has been chiefly directed towards the extensive plains of the Deccan, which have in fact for ages been under foreign sway,—composed of branches broken off from the great trunk of Mogul dominion. In the most southern quarter, the table-lands and coasts have been shared among a number of little kingdoms, wealthy, populous, and civilized. These have often owned allegiance, and even paid tribute to the Mogul, or more frequently to the Deccan rulers; but in all essential respects have ranked as independent states.

The mountain-regions of Northern India have shared a happier lot, and been inhabited generally by races different from those which occupy the lower parts of the peninsula. The rugged tracts of the higher Himmaleh are possessed by bold, fierce, semi-

Tartar tribes, who scarcely acknowledge the supremacy of the several powers which govern the adjacent plains. They have even harassed their neighbours by predatory inroads; but their small number, and the strong natural barriers by which they are separated, have prevented them from forming any extensive schemes of conquest.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Knowledge of India among the Ancients.*

India early Known to the Ancients—Accounts of its Trade in Scripture—Bacchus—Sesostris—Expedition of Semiramis—Conquest by Darius—Accounts by Herodotus and Ctesias—Expedition of Alexander—He is Obliged to Return—Voyage down the Indus—Voyage of Nearchus—Alexander's March through Gedrosia—Accounts of India Obtained by this Channel—Kingdoms of Syria and Bactria—Mercantile Voyage from Egypt to India—Coasts which were then Visited.

INDIA, in the view of the earliest Greek and Roman writers, appeared a remote and almost inaccessible region. The extensive seas which intervened were in the infant state of navigation nearly impassable. The inland route, besides its very great length and the imperfect means of conveyance, lay partly across the loftiest ridge of mountains in the world, partly through deserts as dreary as that of Arabia. Yet India had features which, seen even at this mysterious distance, strongly attracted attention and curiosity among the civilized nations of antiquity. Its wealth and populousness made it one of the principal objects of ambition to those great conquerors who aimed at universal empire; its fabrics, the most beautiful that human art any where produ-

ced, were sought by merchants through the greatest toils and dangers ; the manners of its people, and the maxims of its sages, had something original and peculiar, which strongly excited philosophical inquiry. For these reasons, India, from the first moment that its existence became known down to the present day, has continued to hold a great and conspicuous name in the western world.

In the sacred volume, which contains the earliest of our historical records, no statement is made whence we might conclude that the Jews had arrived at any knowledge of India. The River (Euphrates) and the territory immediately beyond it, appeared to them the most remote objects to the eastward, and are described under the appellation of the " ends of the earth." Yet these books make a direct allusion to the extensive caravan-routes, formed at an early period for conveying the fine manufactures of that opulent region into the kingdoms of the west. We cannot hesitate to believe, with Dr Vincent, that the embroidered work, and chests of rich apparel bound with cords, mentioned by Ezekiel (xxvii. 23.) as brought from Haran, Canneh, and other towns on the Euphrates, were not manufactured by the nations on that river, but drawn from the more distant countries of Eastern Asia. We have little doubt also, that the trade across Arabia, by way of Dedan and Idumea, and of which " precious cloths" are mentioned as the staple, was an Indian trade.

Bacchus, in the classic mythology, is named as the conqueror of India ; but this tradition, though probably not destitute of some foundation, is so enveloped in fable that we can attach to it little histo-

rical importance. Whether India was at all included in the wide career of invasion, rather than of conquest, pursued by Sesostris, seems extremely doubtful; though some light may perhaps be thrown upon the subject by the researches now in progress for the interpretation of Egyptian hieroglyphics.

The next expedition into India, which is described in more ample detail, was that undertaken by Semiramis, the celebrated and victorious queen of Assyria. Although the knowledge possessed by the Greeks respecting the early Asiatic empires be exceedingly imperfect and obscure, yet the great fame of this expedition, and the various shapes in which it has been reported, leave little room to doubt that it was actually undertaken. In the absence of a narrative on which a fuller dependence might be placed, recourse must be had to the account given by Diodorus. Semiramis, having, it is said, extended her dominion widely over Western Asia, till even Bactria was comprehended within it, and having been informed that India was the most populous, the most wealthy, and the most beautiful of king doms, determined to employ all the resources of her empire in attempting its conquest. Only two circumstances made this great undertaking appear impracticable. One was the broad and rapid stream of the Indus, without any vessels fitted for its passage; the other was the strength and formidable character of the Indian war-elephants, the very aspect of which struck terror into troops unaccustomed to their presence. To supply these deficiencies, the queen adopted the most decisive measures. She engaged naval architects from Phenicia, Cyprus, and other maritime districts; and,

as proper materials were not to be found on the banks of the Indus, she caused vessels suited to the navigation of that river to be constructed at Bactria, and conveyed thence overland. For supplying the want of elephants a still more singular plan was devised by her. Three hundred thousand oxen were slain, and their hides formed into the shape of the huge animals to be represented, within which camels and men were introduced as the moving power. After three years spent in these extraordinary preparations, the queen sent forward her armies, which some writers describe as amounting to several millions of combatants; but the narrative of Ctesias, doubtless still much exaggerated, estimates them at three hundred thousand foot, five hundred thousand horse, while two thousand boats and the mock-elephants were conveyed on the backs of camels. Stabrobates, the Indian king, was ready to meet them on the banks of the river with four thousand boats, framed out of the reeds (canes) which grew in abundance on its marshy borders. At the same time he collected, from the various districts of India, an army even greater than that of Semiramis, supported by a very numerous band of elephants. The two powers encountered first in the river-stream, where the queen gained a decided advantage, sinking many of the enemy's barks, and obtaining possession of both shores. She then threw over the Indus a spacious bridge, by which the whole army passed, and advanced against the enemy. In front the pretended elephants, ranged in order of battle, formed a spectacle which, being wholly unexpected, somewhat surprised and appalled the native troops; but having learned, by means of desert-

ers, the real composition of these seemingly formidable masses, Stabrobates prepared without apprehension to encounter them. While the contest lay between the cavalry, it inclined to the side of Assyria; but as soon as the real and mighty war-elephants, on the most powerful of which the king himself was mounted, rushed to the attack, the artificial semblances opposed to them, wholly unable to sustain the shock, were soon resolved into their constituent elements, who fled in dismay, and, being pursued, were many of them trampled under foot. The whole army was completely routed, and Semiramis scarcely brought back a third part of her host; some authors even maintain that she herself perished in the expedition. At all events, the conquest of India appears not to have been again attempted by any of the monarchs of Assyria or Babylon.

Darius, the Persian monarch, is recorded as the next who undertook to explore and to conquer that country. Having reached the Indus, he determined to trace its course till it should fall into the ocean. In this important service he employed Scylax the Caryandean, the most distinguished naval commander of that early age, who sailed down the stream, and, after a navigation of two years and a half, arrived in Egypt,—a most extensive, and at that period most arduous voyage, of which, unfortunately, no detailed account has been preserved. The historian then simply informs us, that "Darius subdued the Indians;" and it appears that he drew from their country a more ample tribute than from any other province of his vast dominions,—paid too in gold, the most valuable of commodities. Yet the description of Herodotus, brief and indis-

tinct as it is, shows that the empire of Darius extended over only a very small portion of India. The simple statement that this country was bounded on the east by vast sandy deserts, forming on that side the limit of the known world, renders it manifest that *his* India included nothing beyond the western provinces of Moultan, Lahore, and possibly Guzerat. His details are truly defective, and would seem applicable to some rude mountain-tribe rather than to the inhabitants of a great and civilized empire; yet the particulars, when narrowly examined, indicate the early existence of the same features by which India is still distinguished. The wool growing on trees like fruit, more beautiful and valuable than that produced from sheep, and like it used for clothing, is evidently cotton, an important vegetable then unknown in the west. The statement that some natives kill no living thing, and subsist wholly on herbs, points out a characteristic fact in Indian manners; while another report, that they neither sow the land nor inhabit houses, will apply to the superstitious practices of the yogues or fakirs. The Padaei, probably a mountain-horde, are described as living on raw flesh, while the people bordering on the river subsist on raw fish. The singular statement that when any one, male or female, falls sick, his relations kill him, and feed upon the flesh, as well as another passage asserting that those who feel themselves indisposed go out into the desert, and die without any one caring for them, may have been suggested by the various forms of self-immolation, which, if not urged, are at least permitted by the nearest relatives. A remarkable assertion is made respecting the great quantity of gold

found both in mines and in the beds of the rivers; to which is appended an odd story respecting huge ants that defend this gold, and often give chase to the individuals who attempt to collect it.

The work of Ctesias, who, posterior to Herodotus, communicated the information collected during a long residence in Persia, is known to us only by some fragments preserved by Photius and other authors. The knowledge of India in his time does not appear to have been any farther extended. He mentions no river except the Indus, yet says that the inhabitants in its neighbourhood are the remotest nation known to the eastward; so that his information evidently terminated with the western desert, and did not include the vast regions which compose the Proper Indostan. Yet when, even under this limited view, he informs us that the Indians surpass in number all other nations, he leaves no doubt that the country in that early age was as populous and as highly cultivated as in modern times. His descriptions of the animals and vegetables, though bearing some traces of truth, are greatly mixed with fable and exaggeration. Some light, however, is thrown on the reports of Herodotus concerning the gold of India, which is here stated to be found, not like that of Pactolus in the beds of rivers, but in extensive and rugged mountains, haunted by wild beasts of peculiar form and fierceness. Hence only a small quantity of the precious metal could be extracted from them; and it is probable that the remote and difficult situation of the mines operated in giving a very exaggerated idea of their real importance.

Much more ample information respecting this

quarter of the world was obtained from the expedition of Alexander, though that great conqueror did not pass or perhaps even reach the limit which had arrested the progress of Darius. Having overrun the whole Persian empire as far as Bactra (Balkh), the capital of Bactria, and finding it every where subdued and submissive, he determined to cross the mountains, and complete the subjugation of the known world by conquering India. He passed the ridge of Paropamisus, probably by the great caravan-route between Balkh and Candahar, without having suffered any serious loss, though it is admitted that the reduction of the strongholds by which the passes of the mountains were guarded gave occasion to several arduous conflicts. He then marched eastward, and reached the Indus at or near Attok, where its breadth is considerably less than in most other parts of its lower course; and he crossed it without encountering any other obstacle than such as were presented by the rapidity of the current. Although Alexander founded his claim to India on the ground of its being a province of the Persian empire secured by right of conquest, the truth appears to be, that under the weak reigns of the successors of Darius every trace of their dominion had been entirely obliterated, the country not being even united under one empire, but parcelled out among numerous independent chiefs. The first whose territories the Macedonian entered was named Taxiles, or Tacshailas, who either considering resistance hopeless, or else expecting to derive advantage from the Greek alliance, immediately joined him with all his forces. But when the conqueror reached the Hydaspes, he found its opposite bank occupied by Po-

rus, or Phoor, with a very numerous army, composed of stronger men and braver troops than those whom he had so easily vanquished in Persia. They were selected probably, in a great measure, from the Rajputs and mountain-tribes, the most warlike part of the Hindoo population. The difficulties of the Macedonian army were increased by the rainy season, which had swelled the river to a height that made it impossible for the soldiers to ford it. Alexander however displayed his generalship, by taking advantage of a wooded island at some distance below; to which, while making a feigned attempt in another quarter, he transported the flower of his phalanx as well as the best of his cavalry. These, having easily defeated the small force which hastened to oppose their landing, were soon drawn up in order of battle on the opposite bank. Porus without delay attacked the invaders; and his defeat, his noble bearing in captivity, and the generous treatment bestowed upon him, are well-known events in the history of the Macedonian hero.

Alexander having vanquished this formidable enemy, pressed onward into the heart of India, and soon arrived on the banks of the Hyphasis, the modern Sutledge, and the last of that series of rivers which water the Punjaub. Here his progress was arrested by the celebrated mutiny, which seems indeed to have been prompted by the general opinion of the army, from the highest to the lowest, that no farther advance could be made with advantage or safety. The extensive desert which it was necessary to pass, with the great magnitude and populousness of the eastern regions, rendered the attempt at invasion most hazardous, and precluded

almost every hope of being able to preserve any conquests made in so remote a quarter. The Macedonian prince was therefore obliged to set bounds to his vast ambition, and to resign the fondly-cherished hope of reaching the Ganges, and the supposed eastern extremity of the world.

It behoved Alexander to commence the disagreeable task of returning towards Assyria; but he resolved at least to vary his route, and thereby to extend his acquaintance with the country which he had overrun. Among his other great qualities he was animated with an ardent thirst for knowledge, and particularly for geographical discovery. In retracing his steps to Babylon, therefore, which he made his Asiatic capital, it appeared to him that he might have an opportunity of determining the course of the Indus and the southern limits of Asia. He was impelled by an idea, and even belief, which to us it appears astonishing he could ever for a moment have cherished, that the Indus and the Nile were one and the same river. But we must not, from the full light we now enjoy, denounce too severely the imperfect steps by which the ancients groped their way in that twilight of science. The voyage of Scylax being probably forgotten or doubted, and the southern boundaries of Asia and of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs continuing still very imperfectly known, the imagined circuit uniting the two rivers might appear by no means impossible.

Alexander having formed this resolution, proceeded to execute it with his usual activity. Having found on the banks of the Hydaspes an ample store of excellent timber, he employed the Phenicians and other maritime people belonging to his

army to construct out of it a fleet of more than two thousand vessels, of which eighty were of three banks of oars. He put a part of his army on board, while strong detachments encamped on either side of the current. After solemn sacrifices, celebrated both in the Greek and Indian manner, this great armament began its movement. The varied and imposing spectacle,—the shouting of the troops,—the brandishing of so many thousand oars, as the flotilla dropped down this majestic stream,—struck with admiration even the Indians, who watched its progress to a considerable distance. Some time was spent in attacking certain strong places of the Malli (people of Moultan), who are accused by the Greek historians of a hostile disposition, although their whole conduct appears to have been strictly defensive; yet Alexander rashly sacrificed many of his troops, and even endangered his own life, in making conquests which he could never hope to retain. After a voyage down the Indus, which from various causes was protracted to nine months, he found, enclosed by the branches of that river, the large insular territory of Pattala. On his approach the inhabitants fled, and allowed him to occupy their capital without resistance. Farther down, the stream divided into two spacious channels; in descending one of which the Greeks were much surprised and alarmed, when the water suddenly receded and left a great part of the ships on dry land. Next day it rose again and floated the vessels; and hence it was soon perceived that these alternations were occasioned by the tide, and that the Indus, once supposed to reach the plain of Egypt, was already approaching its termination. The king now put a stop to the pro-

gress of the main body of his fleet, and sailed down with a few vessels to the mouth of the river, where he beheld, spreading before him as far as the eye could reach, the magnificent expanse of the Indian Ocean. Exulting to have thus, as he conceived, reached one of the grand boundaries of the earth, he formed the idea of turning his discovery to the advantage of science, and perhaps of commerce. He proposed to employ a small squadron in surveying the southern coast of Asia, from this point to the mouth of the Euphrates, where the expedition might join the army which he was now preparing to lead back to Babylon. The enterprise, however, appeared so very hazardous that none of the naval chiefs were willing to undertake it except Nearchus, the most distinguished of their number and admiral of the fleet. Alexander hesitated much to expose so precious a life in this perilous expedition, but finding that no other would volunteer he at length consented.

Nearchus accordingly performed his celebrated voyage along the southern coast; during which he suffered very severely, chiefly from the great scarcity of provisions,—a large extent of the land being completely desert, and the rest inhabited by rude tribes, from whom no supplies could be obtained except by violence. At length he entered the Persian Gulf, where he found a fertile and friendly shore, in which all the wants of the fleet were supplied, and where his crews soon recruited their strength. Here, with great joy, he learned that the Grecian camp was pitched at only a few days' journey in the interior. He accordingly set out with five of his officers, and received the most hearty congratulations

from their sovereign and countrymen, who by that time had almost resigned every hope of their return. Alexander himself, in marching through Gedrosia, the modern Mekran and Beloochistan, had seen his army exposed to miseries and dangers, greater, if possible, than the fleet had encountered. Their route lay through immense deserts of moving sand, exactly corresponding with the description recently given by Mr Pottinger, rising into steep hillocks, into which the feet sunk as in mire or in the sea. Water occurred only at long intervals, when they reached the banks of rapid streams; and so eager were the men to quench their thirst, that some of them plunged into the current and lost their lives. Indeed, of all the rash enterprises which have been laid to the charge of this conqueror, the present march was perhaps the most foolhardy. However, by that energy which he always displayed in danger and distress, and by sharing the toils and privations of the meanest soldier, he at length conducted his army to the capital of Gedrosia, and thence to Caramania (Kerman), where their difficulties terminated. He then gave a loose to rejoicing, and converted the rest of his march into a kind of festive and bacchanalian procession.

The biographers of Alexander, and other writers using their materials, have transmitted a pretty full account of the state in which he found India; whose narratives, in the absence of native records, still possess a great degree of historical value. The result, brought out still more fully than in the Persian annals collected by Herodotus and Ctesias, appears to be, that this region was as populous and as highly cultivated at a very remote age as in

the present, and that it exhibited manners and institutions almost precisely similar. That characteristic institution, the division into castes, where the dignities and employments were transmitted from father to son by fixed hereditary succession, was already established in its utmost force. The same may be said of the pre-eminence enjoyed among these castes by the priesthood, who were understood to inherit all the learning and philosophy of the eastern world. Alexander and several of his officers, imbued with Greek literature and curiosity, felt an unusual interest respecting the life and doctrine of these oriental sages. The self-denial and studied austerity, which had astonished them in Diogenes and others of the Cynic school, were carried here to a much more unnatural and extravagant pitch. The men whom India held in veneration were seen denying to themselves all the enjoyments and comforts of life, subjecting their persons to the most unheard-of tortures and penances, lying exposed naked, in the woods and fields, to the burning rays of the sun. The Macedonian prince does not seem to have been himself inclined to enter into conversation with these uncouth sages; but he sent Onesicritus to endeavour to obtain some idea of their doctrines and principles. This envoy was accordingly guided to a solitary spot, about two miles from the city, where a group of fifteen, braving the noonday heat, had placed themselves in the most painful and fantastic attitudes. The Greek accosted them, and made known the object of his visit, when one of their number, named Calanus, observed, that it little became them to reveal the mysteries of philosophy to one arrayed in the cos-

tume of a courtier and warrior; and required, as an indispensable preliminary to all communication, that he should throw himself naked on the same stones where they lay extended. As Onesicritus appeared to pause, Mandanis, another of the Indian group, condemned this harsh reply made to the representative of a sovereign and conqueror who deserved praise for such enlightened curiosity. Through the medium of an interpreter, he gave a summary of the leading tenets held by his fellow-sages, inquiring if they bore any resemblance to the doctrines professed in Greece. Onesicritus assured him that Pythagoras, Socrates, and above all Diogenes, entertained many opinions extremely similar. Mandanis admitted this to be in so far satisfactory, yet conceived that no one who wore clothes, or mingled in human society, could attain to that mysterious height of wisdom which distinguished the Indian philosophers. The conversation continued till evening, when the learned men rose and accompanied their new companion to the city. It then appeared that this ostentatious self-denial was far from being unrewarded. If any one carrying fruit or provisions met them, they were invited and even urged to partake; they were readily received into the greatest houses, where they were privileged to enter apartments whence all others were excluded. Calanus, notwithstanding the stern pride which he had displayed, was prevailed upon to accompany Alexander into Western Asia, a proposal rejected by his milder companion; but the former preserved always the manners and demeanour of a Hindoo philosopher, and, at a very advanced age, exhibited to the Greeks an example of religious sui-

cide, by mounting a funeral-pile, on which he was consumed to ashes.

The other castes appear to have been more numerous than they are at the present day, and to have been distinguished on grounds somewhat different from those which are recognised in modern times.

The following is the enumeration given by all the authors who derived their information from the source now pointed out:—1. Priests; 2. Husbandmen; 3. Shepherds and Hunters; 4. Manufacturers; 5. Military; 6. Inspectors employed in the service of the sovereign; 7. Royal Councillors and Magistrates. The two last orders, with their functions, must in a great measure have ceased during the long subjection of Indostan to foreign sway; probably they have merged into that of Kuttri or Chittry, which at present includes the most distinguished civil members of Hindoo society. The ranking of Shepherds as a distinct order was probably founded rather upon observations made on the bordering Afghan, and other mountain-tribes, than on the inhabitants of the Indian plain, where the more general pursuit of agriculture must have superseded the habits of pastoral life. Much is said of the honours paid to the class of husbandmen who were seen ploughing in the midst of hostile armies,—a happy arrangement, not always observed during the evil days which India has lately been doomed to experience. Other statements made by the ancients, respecting the early marriage of females,—the worship of the Ganges,—the mode of catching elephants,—the burning of widows on the funeral-pile of their husbands,—confirm the belief that the Greeks in India beheld the

very same people who now inhabit that interesting country.

Seleucus, the general who, in the partition of the empire of Alexander, obtained Syria for his share, claimed as its appendage all the vast regions of the East, even including Indostan. He undertook an expedition to secure, or more properly to regain, those distant possessions, which after Alexander's retreat had probably shaken off entirely the slight yoke imposed upon them. The very imperfect accounts of this enterprise represent it as having been successful, though Seleucus had to encounter the force of Sandracottus (Chadragupta), who had already established on the banks of the Ganges an empire embracing almost the whole of India. Much doubt, however, must rest on this brilliant result, when we find it to have issued in a treaty by which he resigned all the provinces *eastward* of the Indus,—that is, all that were properly Indian. This amity, however, was cemented by intermarriage and mutual presents. Seleucus farther sent Megasthenes on an embassy to Palibothra, the metropolis of this powerful monarch, who returned with the most splendid account both of the kingdom and capital. Sandracottus is said to have possessed an army of 400,000 men, including 20,000 cavalry and 2000 chariots. The chief city was ten miles in length and two in breadth, defended by 574 towers and a ditch thirty cubits deep, and entered by sixty gates. The site of this celebrated metropolis of India has been the subject of much controversy. The most precise statement is that made by Arrian after Megasthenes, placing it at the junction of the Ganges with another river (the Erranoboas), considered the

third in India as to magnitude. Upon this indication D'Anville has fixed upon Allahabad, a great, ancient, and holy city, standing at the junction with the Jumna, a river certainly not ill entitled to the above distinguished rank. But this conclusion is completely and positively contradicted by the statements of Pliny and Ptolemy, the two highest authorities in ancient geography and especially in that of India, both of whom place the town a great way below that junction,—the former about 400 miles, the latter still farther. Major Rennell next suggests Patna, likewise a large place, and considerably below the confluence just specified; while the Soane, a stream certainly of great magnitude, which at present falls into the Ganges about thirty miles above, is supposed anciently to have followed a different channel, and to have flowed close by Patna. Still that city is not so far down the Ganges as Palibothra is described both by Ptolemy and Pliny; the latter of whom, in enumerating the tributaries of the great river, mentions both the Soane and the Erranoboas as perfectly distinct. Colonel Franklin, by a series of learned researches, has lately endeavoured to fix the position at Rajemahl, which certainly agrees better than any before named with the ancient authorities, though still liable to some objections. The present writer, in a former work, has mentioned Boglipoor, a town not far distant from Rajemahl, but somewhat nearer to the position described by Ptolemy, and still more so to that assigned by Pliny as the site of Palibothra. The name exactly coincides; for, in the European orthography of oriental sounds, *b* and *p*, *a* and *o*, are always used indiscriminately, while the other alterations are manifestly

adopted for the sake of euphony in the Greek language. A name is nothing where there is no agreement as to position; but where the coincidence in that respect is so great, as in the present instance, it is of much importance, because ancient appellations often remain long attached to the same spots. After being obliged to give up the Jumna, we cannot hope for a river which shall actually be the "third in India." The Ganges, not far from Boglipoor, receives the Coosy, or river of Nepaul,—a large stream, which has flowed nearly 500 miles, and drained a large extent of mountain-territory.

As the kingdom of Syria declined in strength it submitted to the separation of its eastern territories. Bactria was erected into an independent Grecian state, which during several ages seems to have been both powerful and enlightened. But there is no portion of ancient history, equally interesting, involved in darkness so deep and hopeless. The kings of Bactria certainly invaded and reduced to obedience a portion of India,—perhaps more extensive than was subjected by the arms of Darius or Alexander. Colonel Tod collected in the western provinces numerous coins and medals of the Bactrian monarchs. Menander, from the account given by Strabo, appears to have reigned over a very powerful empire. In conjunction with Demetrius, he had possessed himself of Pattalene at the mouth of the Indus, and at the same time pushed his conquests considerably beyond the Hyphasis; while in the north he had subdued all Tartary as far as the Jaxartes. There appears even to have been for some time a Greek kingdom in India independent of Bactria; nay, it has been supposed by some eminent writers, that many

features of the Hindoo philosophy, which certainly bear a striking resemblance to that of Pythagoras and Plato, were derived from a Grecian source ;—that even the Sanscrit, the learned language of India, whose construction has a wonderful affinity to the Greek, may have been an artificial dialect derived from that noble tongue ;—but much doubt still encumbers this hypothesis. Suffice it then to remark, that, after a duration of more than a hundred years, the irruption of barbarous conquerors from the north, and the rise of the Parthian empire, put an end to the kingdom of Bactria.

Strabo relates that Augustus, when at Antioch, received an embassy with letters from an Indian sovereign who called himself Porus, and boasted that he held sway over six hundred kings ; but it is not said whether any additional information was ever obtained through this channel.

Maritime commerce afforded ultimately the means of enabling the ancients to obtain a great accession to their knowledge respecting India. The navigation from Egypt, though it appears, as already observed, to have been performed at a very early date by Scylax under the direction of Darius, did not for a very long period become a regular channel of conveyance. Alexander, by the voyage of Nearchus, connected the mouth of the Indus with the Persian Gulf ; but the communication between that gulf and the Red Sea, round the peninsula of Arabia, appeared to him a discovery that yet remained to be made. It was considered still a novel enterprise when performed by Eudoxus, under the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes, about the year 130 B. C. A powerful impulse was however given by the

wealth and unbounded luxury of Rome affording an ample market for the rich and beautiful productions of India. In the first century a regular commercial intercourse was established between the Red Sea and Musiris on the coast of Malabar. There exists even a valuable treatise, entitled the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, by a writer whose supposed name is Arrian, in which the details of this voyage are given at considerable length. In conformity to the limited resources of ancient navigation, where the vessels kept always close to the land, it comprised an immense circuit of very difficult and sometimes of very dangerous coast.

Any account of the voyage down the Red Sea, and along the coasts of Arabia and Persia, does not come within the compass of the present undertaking. In due time the navigators reached the mouth of the Indus, which, in the "Periplus," is called Scynthus, and justly said to be the greatest that enters the Indian Sea. It has seven mouths, but all narrow and shallow, except one by which even large vessels could ascend. They soon came to Barbarikoe (*Barbaricum Emporium*), where they unloaded their ships and received fresh cargoes; but it was necessary to proceed upwards to Minnagara, the principal city of this region (which is called by the author Scythia), and where the king, who was subject to the Parthian empire, resided. The commerce appears to have been very considerable, consisting in the exchange of silk and silk stuffs, bdellium, spikenard, sapphires, and indigo, for the European commodities of cloth, coral, incense, vessels of glass and silver, money, and a little wine.

Beyond the Indus the navigators passed another

more northerly gulf, which they called Eirin (the modern Cutch). The waves, however, were so high and tempestuous, the current so rapid, while the bottom, rough and rocky, destroyed so many of the anchors that, in order to sail with safety, it was necessary to keep considerably out to sea. They came then to a coast (that of the modern Guzerat), which is justly described as very fertile in grain, rice, and above all in *carbasus* (cotton), from which was manufactured an immense quantity of cloths. Turning a promontory (Diuhead) they soon entered a third gulf, deriving its name from Barugaza (Baroache), which, instead of Surat, appears to have been then the emporium of Western India. The navigation of this inlet required great caution, on account of the extraordinary violence of the tide, by which, at its periodical ebb, a great extent of land, before covered with the sea, was suddenly left dry; and mariners navigating the tranquil deep were wont to hear the sound as of a great army advancing, while the waves rushing on with tremendous fury drove them upon shallow and dangerous coasts. The mouth also of the great river (the Nerbudda) upon which Barugaza was situated, could not be found without difficulty, owing to the flat shore and the numerous shoals. The object of the merchants was to arrive in the month of July, when a great fair was held in that city. The imports were nearly the same as at Barbarikoe, except that wine is mentioned as a leading article, to which was added a great quantity of gold and silver money. The exports consisted in a variety of cotton cloths and finer muslins, *vasa murrhina* (supposed to be porcelain), and onyx stones. These were brought

down chiefly from Ozene (Ougein), a great city in the interior, and the capital of an extensive kingdom. Beyond Barugaza India extended from north to south, and was called Dakinabades (the Deccan or South Country). It is described as comprising regions of vast extent, mountains and deserts filled with various wild animals, particularly elephants, tigers, leopards, and serpents of enormous magnitude. In the interior were two great capitals, Plithana and Tagara. The former is supposed to be Piltanah, on the Godavery,—the latter Deoghir, the modern Dowlatabad, in whose vicinity the splendid excavated temples of Ellora still indicate a former seat of Indian greatness.

The coast extending southward from the Gulf of Barugaza, or Cambay, presented the ports of Akabaros, Oopara, and Kalliena, the last of which is easily recognised in Kalliana on the coast opposite to Bombay. It had once been open to Grecian commerce, and was a place of considerable resort; but the prince to whom it was then subject rigorously excluded vessels of that nation, which could not even safely pass without a convoy. A coast is delineated with a considerable number of ports, which cannot now be very easily identified; but when we find them described as the seat of some trade, but infested by numerous pirates, we recognise at once the Concan, which still bears the same character. Having reached the island of Leuke (Angedive), they entered on the fertile shores of Limurike, comprising Canara, with part of Malabar Proper, and which seems to have formed the centre of the Greek commerce with India. The three great emporia of this coast were Tyndis, Musiris, and Nelkunda, which

Dr Vincent thinks may still be traced in Barcelore, Mangalore, and Nelisuram. Although the second of these was a place of extensive resort, yet Nelkunda is described as the principal emporium. There even appears much reason to conclude that the Egyptian navigators proceeded no farther, but found in Nelkunda an assortment of all the goods produced on the eastern coast of India, and even in the regions beyond. These were, pepper in great abundance, pearls, silk, ivory, spikenard, diamonds, amethysts, other precious stones, and tortoise-shell. The imports were nearly the same as elsewhere, except that money was in very particular request.

The voyage to this part of India, after being for some time pursued by the tedious and circuitous line of the Arabian and Persian coasts, was greatly improved by an accident of which there is perhaps no other example in ancient navigation. One Hippalus, having observed the steady course of the monsoon at fixed periods in a certain direction, taught the mariners to steer, under its influence, from the mouth of the Red Sea directly across the ocean; and thus a voyage, which according to the ordinary method lasted usually two months, was often completed in a few days.

Beyond Nelkunda, where, as already observed, there is reason to think that the navigation of the Greeks terminated, the description of the shores of India becomes much more meagre and imperfect. The next city mentioned is Colchi, probably Cochin, represented as part of the kingdom of Pandion, which at that time extended over all this part of the continent, and included even Nelkunda within its limits. This is followed by Comar, a town evi-

dently adjoining to Cape Comorin, the most southern point of India, and said to possess a species of convent where persons of both sexes devoted themselves to celibacy, and to the performance of certain religious rites in honour of a goddess whom they imagined to haunt the neighbouring waters. Ceylon is next described under the appellation of Palesimonda, or the more ancient one of Taprobana, and particular mention is made of the extensive pearl-fishery carried on both there and on the opposite shore of India. The author now proceeds to the coast of Coromandel, respecting which he has preserved only some imperfect notices. Mesolia, mentioned as an extensive district distinguished for the manufacture of very fine cloths, seems clearly to be Masulipatam and the surrounding country. He came afterwards to a region of terrors and prodigies,—one people with flat noses, and another with horses' heads, reported to feed on human flesh. These wonders unequivocally prove that the narrator had attained the boundary of accurate knowledge; yet the wild tract of mountain and jungle, which composes so large a proportion of Orissa, afforded considerable room for these imaginations. Then, however, he reaches the mouth of the Ganges, where he finds a great commercial city called by the name of the river, an appellation which it no longer bears. Its trade consisted chiefly in cloths of the most delicate texture and extreme beauty,—a description under which it is impossible not to recognise the superb muslins fabricated at Dacca and other districts of Bengal. Beyond the Ganges was the golden country, doubtless the Aurea Chersonesus of Ptolemy, which we conceive may be identified

with the peninsula formed by the southern part of the Birman territory.

The weakness and distractions of the Roman empire, and finally the rise of the Mohammedan power, cut off in a few centuries the nations of Europe from all direct communication with India. The rich productions of that country were, during a considerable period, conveyed by Arabian navigators or by inland caravans, and sold to the Venetians and Genoese on the shores of the Mediterranean or of the Black Sea; but these traders themselves, so distinguished in the middle ages by their maritime enterprise, made no attempt to open a direct commerce with the distant regions whence those precious commodities were imported.

## CHAPTER III.

### *Portuguese Discovery of the Passage to India.*

Maritime Power of Portugal—Voyages along the Coast of Africa—Discovery of the Senegal and Gambia—Of the Gold Coast—Of Congo—Bartholomew Diaz Discovers the Cape of Good Hope—Mission of Covilham and De Payva—Expedition of Vasco de Gama—He Passes the Cape—Touches at Mozambique, Mombaza, and Melinda—Arrives at Calicut—Visit to the Zamorin—Differences with him and the Moors—Departure—Voyage round Africa—Return to Portugal.

PORTUGAL, a small kingdom, of little fertility, placed at one of the extremities of Europe, appeared ill fitted for acting any great part in the affairs of that continent. A long period of her history, accordingly, has been obscure and inglorious. Under the Roman government the Lusitanians were remarked only for their extreme barbarism; and during the middle ages they were crushed beneath the yoke of the Moors, who, after having overrun nearly the whole peninsula, erected Portugal into a kingdom under the name of Algarve. In more recent times, oppressed by tyranny and fanaticism, and holding little communication with more enlightened nations, she has been kept in every respect very

far behind the other countries of Europe. Yet there was an interval between the middle ages and the present period, when this kingdom held the foremost place not only in arms and power, but in all those arts and liberal pursuits which have given lustre to the modern world. It was in the stern school of adversity that those energies were unfolded. The Portuguese, like the Spaniards their neighbours, had to fight a battle of many hundred years, ere they could purge their native land from the numerous, warlike, and fanatical hosts, united under the standard of Mohammed, by whom it had been subdued. Religious zeal, the blind exercise of which has since degraded Portugal, was then the inspiring principle of her heroic exploits. The kingdom, according to De Barros, was founded in the blood of martyrs, and by martyrs was spread over the globe; for that name he conceives himself entitled to confer on those who fought and fell in her glorious conflicts with infidel nations. After expelling the Moors from Europe they pursued them into Africa, seeking to avenge that long series of outrage and thraldom to which the Spanish peninsula had been subjected, and claiming an undoubted right to every territory conquered from the enemies of the faith. This enterprise, as it necessarily involved some degree of maritime skill, attracted the attention of their monarchs towards the ocean, as the scene in which they might find greatness, wealth, and renown. This circumstance, combined with the favourable situation of the country, having a long range of coast and being bordered by the yet unmeasured expanse of the Atlantic, paved the way for the dis-

tinction which Portugal obtained in the career of maritime discovery.*

The first attempt was made by John I. on a limited scale, and in connexion with an expedition to the shores of Barbary. He detached on this occasion a small squadron to survey the coast of Morocco, and even to trace the outline of the African continent. The mariners succeeded in passing Cape Nun (then the boundary of European knowledge), and in exploring to a great extent the boundaries of Western Africa. At length, accustomed only to hold a timid course along the shore, they were repelled by the view of those formidable cliffs which compose Cape Bojador, and the tempestuous waves which dashed around them. But this voyage upon the whole gave animation and encouragement to farther discovery, which was likewise greatly promoted by an individual of royal race, who devoted all his exertions, and attached the glory of his name to the cause of maritime enterprise. Prince Henry, a younger son of John, by Philippa of Lancaster, sister to Henry IV. king of England, after having acted a distinguished part in the expeditions against Barbary, directed all his attention to this new object. He fixed his residence at Sagres, near Cape St Vincent,

* This historical account of Portuguese Discovery and Conquest is derived from the Asia of Juan de Barros, (4 tom. folio, 15 tom. 12mo); Asia Portuguesa of Faria y Sousa, (3 tom. 4to); History of the Discovery and Conquest of the East Indies, by Hernan Lopez de Castenheda; and History of the Portuguese during the Reign of Emanuel, by Osorio; the two first of which were consulted in the original, and the two last in translations. Although these authors agree in the general tenor of the narrative, there occur various discrepances in the details, which we have endeavoured to reconcile as we best could without in general troubling our readers by noticing them. We have considered chiefly the probability and consistency of the events related, giving also a certain preference to the authority of De Barros.

where his eye rested continually on the vast ocean; and there collected every information and every aid which the infant sciences of geography and navigation could then furnish. He afforded to successive adventurers the means of prosecuting their discoveries; while the deep interest shown by him in their various attempts threw a peculiar lustre around this hazardous pursuit.

The first expedition fitted out by Henry, in 1418, consisted of only a single vessel under two officers of his household, Juan Gonzales and Tristram Vaz, who, being driven out to sea by a tempest, made the discovery first of Porto Santo, and afterwards of Madeira. These two beautiful islands, being found very productive in several valuable commodities, were considered as a promising commencement of African navigation. Yet it was not till 1433, fifteen years after, that Gilianez, steering a bolder course through the open sea, passed Cape Bojador, and proved the fears which that celebrated promontory had inspired to have been in a great measure chimerical. The success of the Portuguese in tracing the African shores was now rapid; yet for a considerable time it was only rewarded by the sight of a barren and desolate coast, "a dread expanse of lifeless sand and sky." At length they reached the verdant shores of the Senegal and Gambia, where nature assumes a grand and romantic form; and to which gold, ivory, and other precious commodities were brought down from the interior.

The progress of discovery was somewhat checked by the death of King John, and still more afterwards by that of Prince Henry in 1463; yet it still advanced. Alphonso, John's successor, granted to

Fernand Gomez an exclusive right of navigation for five years, on condition of discovering during that time five hundred leagues of coast. Gomez, accordingly, in 1471, succeeded in exploring the Gold Coast, which, corresponding in some degree to its name, afforded a brilliant promise of wealth. The king no longer hesitated to assume the title of Lord of Guinea; and the castle of Elmina, or the Mine, being erected on this shore, was made the capital of all the Portuguese possessions.

John II., who succeeded Alphonso, pressed discovery with augmented zeal. In 1484, Diego Cam sailed from Elmina, and proceeded along Africa till he found himself, though considerably out at sea, involved in a powerful current of fresh water. Perceiving, hence, that some mighty stream in this latitude must empty itself into the ocean, he made his way towards land, and discovered the mouth of the Congo. He opened a communication with the natives, and the Portuguese afterwards formed very extensive settlements in the country situated on the banks of that river.

Discovery had advanced thus far in 1486, when John II. determined to make a grand effort to complete the circuit of the African coast. He placed three vessels under the command of Bartholomew Diaz, whom he strictly enjoined if possible to reach and pass the southern boundary of that continent. This officer, having arrived at the mouth of the Congo by a course now easy and ascertained, began thence his career of discovery. He adopted the odd contrivance of carrying with him four negro damsels well clothed, and furnished with gold and silver ornaments, toys, and spices, whom he landed at

different points of the coast, that they might spread brilliant reports of the wealth and power of the Portuguese. He gave names, as he went along, to remarkable bays and capes; and at St Jago, 120 leagues beyond the Congo, erected a pillar of stone to denote the dominion of the king and of the Cross. He passed successively the Bays of the Landing, of Isles, and of Windings; the last name being given on account of the many changes of course which, during five days, the sinuosities of the coast, and adverse gales, obliged him to make. The weather continuing stormy drove him out to sea in a southern direction, where his frail barks seemed scarcely fitted to live amid the tempestuous billows by which they were surrounded. After a voyage too along the burning shores of Guinea, the Portuguese felt intensely the cold blasts of the Antarctic Seas. They considered themselves as lost; when after thirteen days the tempest abated, and they sought by steering eastward to regain the land; but they were already beyond the farthest point of Africa, and they saw nothing before them except the unbounded ocean. Surprised and bewildered they turned towards the north, and at length reached the coast at a point which proved to be eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. They called it "the Bay of Cows," from the large herds seen feeding, but which the natives immediately drove into the interior. Diaz steered onwards till he came to a small island, where he planted another pillar or ensign of dominion. A general murmur, however, now arose among his exhausted and dispirited crew. They urged, that they had already discovered enough of land for one voyage, having sailed over more sea than had been tra-

versed by any former expedition; that their vessel was shattered, and their provisions drawing to a close; and, finally, that, the coast having been left running north and south, and found running west and east, there must intervene some remarkable cape, the discovery of which would give lustre to their voyage homeward. Diaz then called a council of his principal officers, who all agreed in the necessity of returning. The commander yielded, it is said, with deep reluctance, and parted from the island where he had planted his last ensign "as a father parts from an exiled son." The Portuguese had not sailed far westward, when they came in view of that mighty cape which had been vainly sought for so many ages, constituting, as it were, the boundary between two worlds. The commodore, from the storms he had endured in doubling it, named it the Cape of Tempests; but on his return the king, animated by a more sanguine spirit, bestowed the appellation, which it has ever since retained, of the Cape of Good Hope.

At the time when Diaz sailed, the king had also sent Pedro Covilham and Alonzo de Payva, by way of the Red Sea, to gain through that channel every possible information respecting India. The latter died in Egypt; but his colleague, in two successive voyages, visited Cananor, Calicut, and Goa, the three principal cities of Malabar; also Sofala, on the coast of Eastern Africa, and Ormuz, the splendid emporium of the Persian Gulf. On his return through the Red Sea he visited the Emperor of Abyssinia, venerated by the Portuguese under the character of Prester John. Covilham was well received, but, according to a custom prevalent at that

court, was never permitted to quit the country. He transmitted to his sovereign accounts which were never made public, but were understood to favour the most sanguine expectations as to the advantages to be derived from opening a passage into the seas of India.

John did not immediately follow up the discovery of Diaz. He was at this time much engrossed by the arrival of a negro prince from the Senegal, and in fitting out an expedition to reinstate him in his dominions. He suffered also a deep mortification from having been induced, by unenlightened advisers, to reject the application of Christopher Columbus, which was made in the first instance to the Portuguese monarch as the chief patron of naval discovery. This navigator having performed his grand expedition, was obliged, in returning home, to put into the river of Lisbon. He brought with him trophies of the newly-discovered world, which the king could not view without the deepest agitation. He held even several councils, and sought to advance untenable claims to these new regions. There were not even wanting at court certain base instruments who tendered their services to assassinate that great discoverer; but the king was of a character that raised him far above sanctioning so dreadful a crime.

John died in 1495, before a new expedition could be fitted out; but his cousin Emanuel, who succeeded him, displayed an ardour in this cause surpassing even that of all his predecessors. There were indeed not a few counsellors who represented, that he would thus waste the resources of his kingdom in undertakings every way uncertain, and

the happiest results of which might be snatched away by foreign aggression. The king, however, buoyed up by sanguine hope, and calculating that the task of penetrating to India descended to him by inheritance, applied himself with the utmost diligence to the fitting out of a grand expedition. Diaz was instructed to superintend the building of the ships, that they might be made of such size and strength as to be fit for traversing the stormy seas which he had experienced. The command, however, was bestowed not upon him, but upon Vasco de Gama, a member of Emanuel's household, who had acquired a reputation for nautical skill and talent which his subsequent conduct fully confirmed. The preparations being completed, Gama was called before the king in presence of some of the most distinguished lords of the court, and presented with a silk banner, having attached to it the cross of the order of the knighthood of Christ, of which the king was perpetual master. On this token he was made to swear that he would, to the very utmost of his power, accomplish the voyage, and fulfil its objects. The banner was then delivered to him, with a paper of instructions, and a letter to the mysterious prince called Prester John of India, with whom it was not doubted that he would open some channel of intercourse. That he might depart under favourable auspices, various ceremonies were employed, inspired by the religious and somewhat superstitious spirit of the age. On the day of embarkation, the captains and mariners repaired to the convent of Our Lady of Bethlehem, where the sacrament was administered to them; the monks walked to the ships in devout procession, bearing

wax tapers, and uttering a prayer, echoed by the whole population of Lisbon, who flocked behind to witness the scene. The sailors then went through the ceremonies of confession and absolution, according to a form prepared by Prince Henry for those who should perish in these distant expeditions. This was a somewhat gloomy preparation for the parting. They hastened on board, and began to unfurl the sails; but when they saw the shore lined with their relations and dearest friends dissolved in grief, and felt themselves entering on a voyage so full of doubt and peril,—while they looked alternately to the land that they were quitting, and on the ocean into which they were advancing,—they could not restrain a few natural tears as a tribute to the sympathies of the human heart.

Gama sailed on the 8th July, 1497, with three good vessels,—the St Gabriel and St Raphael, commanded by himself and his brother Paulo, and the Berio, a caravel, under Nicolas Coelho. Castanheda describes them as encountering in the early part of their voyage severe tempests, and even rēpeated alarms; and though this is not mentioned by De Barros, it seems probable, since after sailing four months they had not yet reached the Cape. Vasco landed in a bay, which he called St Helena, to obtain water and to make astronomical observations. Here having espied two negroes, he caused them to be waylaid and brought before him; but they could hold no communication by words, and were, besides, in such agitation and alarm as to be unable to comprehend the signs of friendship which were liberally tendered. Gama hereupon desired two of his grumettas, or negro-servants, to take them apart and give them

abundance of food, of which when they had partaken their minds apparently underwent a happy change, and they pointed to a village two or three miles distant belonging to their countrymen. Fernando Veloso, a Portuguese, obtained permission to repair thither and make observations on the natives. Not long after his departure, however, he was seen running back full speed, pursued by a large party of negroes. He found refuge in the boat, but several of the sailors were wounded with spears and assagaies thrown by the savage assailants. Veloso then related that he had been at first well received, but observing some suspicious symptoms he took to flight, and found his alarm fully justified by the event.

De Gama, quitting this inhospitable shore, steered directly towards that grand promontory which he was now closely approaching, and the passing of which was to decide the fate of his voyage. Deep and solemn emotions filled the minds of the sailors, as on the 18th November they came near to the southern promontory of the African continent. They raised their courage to the highest pitch, in order to face the tempests which they had been taught to expect in making the circuit of this formidable cape. As they proceeded, a moderate breeze from the south-west filled the sails; and, keeping well out to sea, they rounded without danger, and almost without effort, that mighty and dreaded barrier. With the sound of trumpets and loud acclamations they celebrated this memorable passage, which was to give a new character to the commercial policy of Europe. The shore itself showed nothing of that forbidding aspect which rumour had

announced: it was lofty indeed, but green and wooded, with numerous flocks feeding on the hills; though the deep recess which it enclosed on the eastern side could not be safely entered. Before them lay the unbounded expanse of the Indian Ocean; and Gama did not pause till he reached the Bay of St Blas, called afterwards by the Dutch Mossel Bay, where he landed to obtain water and refreshments. Scarcely had the boats touched the shore, when on the top of the neighbouring hills ninety natives appeared, similar in aspect to those in the Bay of St Helena. The Portuguese commander desired his men to approach cautiously and well armed, throwing to the savages a few bells and toys; upon which the latter came forward in the most familiar manner, and offered to exchange their cattle for such European commodities as attracted their eyes. Three days were employed in carrying on this barter, and also in various scenes of mirth and frolic,—the natives performing on a species of rude pastoral flute, to the sound of which both parties danced. Yet towards the close of the visit suspicious symptoms began to appear. The people increased in number, and parties of them were seen lying in ambush; their attitude became more and more hostile, and they were observed closely watching every movement of the Portuguese. Gama, humanely and wisely desiring to avoid any hostile collision, dispersed them by merely firing a few balls over their heads, and proceeded on his voyage.

The navigators were soon after overtaken by a violent storm, the first they had encountered in those unknown seas. It was truly terrible; and in their despair they sought relief, according to De Barros,

too exclusively in religious exercises, without employing sufficiently their own exertions to escape the pressing danger; however, the tempest having abated, the two ships rejoined each other, and proceeded cheerfully onwards. Having passed the coast called Natal, from the day on which it was discovered, they were tempted to land at the mouth of a fine river, where they were soon surrounded by a numerous band of natives, chiefly composed of females; whose comfortable clothing of skins indicated, in comparison of the former parties, both a colder country and a higher degree of industry and civilization. The latter inference was not belied by their demeanour. Martin Alonzo, one of the sailors, having succeeded in making himself understood, received an invitation to their village, which, notwithstanding the alarm sustained by Fernando Veloso, he did not hesitate to accept. The huts of which it consisted were rudely built of straw, but comfortably fitted up; he was treated with the greatest respect and kindness, and sent back next day under an escort of two hundred men. The chief came afterwards with a large retinue to take a view of the ships, and the harmony continued uninterrupted during the five days that the Portuguese remained on the coast. Gama delighted with this people, who belong to the comparatively-improved race of the Caffres, distinguished their inlet as the River of Peace.

In navigating this coast, the admiral found the sea agitated by violent currents coming down the Mozambique Channel, which greatly impeded the progress of his ship. Having passed a bold cape, to which, in allusion to this fact, he gave the name of Corrientes, and seeing the land now trending rapidly

to the westward, which made him afraid of being involved in a deep gulf, he steered out into the ocean. Thus he failed to discover Sofala, then the chief emporium of this part of Africa, enriched by the commerce of gold and ivory brought down the Zambeze. He came, however, to a river on whose banks were persons dressed in silk and blue cotton vestments, some of whom understood Martins, the Arabic interpreter. They gave information that, towards the rising sun, there was a white nation who sailed in ships resembling those of the Portuguese, and were often seen passing and repassing. These symptoms of an approach to the civilized countries of the East greatly cheered Gama; and his vessels having been considerably shattered, he determined to spend some time here in refitting and preparing them for their arduous voyage across the Indian Ocean. His joy was damped by an unexpected calamity; the crews were attacked by a disease of unknown and terrible symptoms,—putrid spots overspreading the body,—the mouth filled with flesh which did not seem to belong to it,—the limbs unable to move,—exhaustion and debility of the whole frame. This appears to be the first mention of scurvy, since so fatally known to mariners. Several fell victims to it, the others were cured by means, as was supposed, of medicines brought from Lisbon, but more probably by the use of the fresh meat and vegetables with which they were supplied from the shore.

The armament again set sail from this river, to which the admiral gave the name of "Good Signs," on the 24th February 1498, and in five days came to a port formed by two small islands, about a league

from the mainland. This he learned was called Mozambique, a place of considerable trade, then subject to Quiloa, but since distinguished as the capital of the Portuguese settlements in Eastern Africa. Here the ships were visited by some boats, having on board people well clothed in cotton, and wearing silk turbans like those of Barbary, a circumstance which delighted the eye of the navigators from the assurance it conveyed that they had completely passed the domain of barbarism; not being aware that a more deadly enmity, arising from religious antipathies, was now to be encountered. Gama, being asked who he was and what he wanted, replied, that he was a subject of the King of Portugal, who had despatched him on a mission to India, and particularly to the King of Calicut, and that he wanted only water, provisions, and two pilots. Unfortunately the person addressed was a native of Fez, in whom the prejudices of a different faith were heightened by the deadly wars waged between his nation and the Portuguese. Yet, though some change was observable in his countenance, he maintained a friendly demeanour, assuring the admiral that these moderate demands would be most cheerfully complied with. An unrestrained communication was immediately opened between the Europeans and the natives; and, a few days afterwards, the governor, or *xeque*, came himself on board, wearing robes of fine linen and rich velvet, and having on his head a silk turban trimmed with gold. The interview passed most amicably; though, amid all this show of courtesy, there were not wanting slight grounds of suspicion. There came on board, among others, three persons, who proved to be subjects of the King of

Abyssinia, a monarch whom the Portuguese had almost deified under the appellation of Prester John. Though these visiters had become converts to the Moslem creed, yet, on seeing a painting of the angel Gabriel on the stern of one of the vessels, they were so far moved by old recollections as to bend down on their knees, and do reverence to it. This movement, which betrayed their secret and ancient faith, led to an eager inquiry and a more intimate communication; which the Moors no sooner remarked, than they drove the Abyssinians out of the ship, and carefully prevented the Portuguese from holding any farther intercourse with these strangers. Notwithstanding these unfavourable symptoms, the necessity of procuring wood and water induced Gama to send two boats' crews daily on shore, where they obtained an ample supply at a moderate rate. One day these boats, having gone beyond the range of the ships, were suddenly attacked by seven large barks, whence was discharged a cloud of darts, spears, and javelins. The natives were soon driven off by a volley of fire-arms, and their conduct was disavowed by the xeque. Sundry transactions followed, and promises were alternately made and broken, till Vasco, by the terror of his artillery, and the threat of reducing Mozambique to ashes, compelled the governor to allow him to complete his supplies, and also to grant him a pilot for Mombaza, where he was assured that he would find a more skilful one to conduct him to India.

Gama sailed from St George, an island near Mozambique, on the 1st April, and continued to steer close to the coast of Africa. A strong current carried him past Quiloa, for which he felt deep but ill-founded regret,

having been treacherously assured by his guide that this was a Christian city. In a few days the armament reached Mombaza, which, on the same authority, was asserted to contain at least a large proportion of Christians. This town, situated on an elevated point of land almost resembling an island, and seen from a great distance at sea, delighted the eyes of the mariners; the houses built of stone, with terraces and windows like those of Portugal, inspired a pleasing illusion, as if they were approaching their native shore. They soon saw a boat coming out with four persons apparently of consequence, who, on making the usual inquiries, and learning the object of the adventurers, assured them that their arrival would afford the greatest pleasure to themselves and to the king, and that all their wants would be supplied. Much care, though probably without success, was taken to prevent intercourse between them and the trusty pilot from Mozambique. The admiral was urged to land immediately, and this request was reiterated next day by another party; but he chose previously to send two sailors on shore to make observations. These persons were pleased with every thing they saw, having been received by the king without much pomp, but with great kindness; and having been introduced to merchants from Guzerat, who professed themselves Christians, were assured by them that Gama, on landing, would meet with many of the same faith. The admiral no longer hesitated; and next day the vessels began to move into the harbour. Providentially, while that of the commander was near the beach it seemed in danger of striking a sand-bank, to avert which an anchor was let down. This operation gave occasion to violent running to and fro,

and to those loud clamours in which European mariners are wont to indulge in such emergencies. Hereupon the Moors on board were seized with such a panic that they, along with the Mozambique pilot, leaped into the sea, and swam full speed to the shore. This alarm, though groundless, disclosed to Gama the deep treason to which he had nearly fallen a victim. He immediately resumed his former station, where it required the greatest vigilance to defeat the repeated attempts which were made by the enemy to surprise his ships or cut the cables. He pursued and took one boat, having on board thirteen men, whom he treated well, but compelled them to show him the way to Melinda, a town which was at no great distance, and where he hoped at last to obtain a pilot for the Indian Sea.

Melinda proved a large, well-built, beautiful city, surrounded by numerous gardens and forests of palm-trees crowned with perpetual verdure. The king, though a Mohammedan, and imbued with the usual bigotry of that faith, appears to have been otherwise a prince of liberal and enlightened views, who saw all the advantages which his subjects might derive from intercourse with an opulent and powerful people. The Moors, therefore, being sent on shore, returned with assurances which bore a greater air of sincerity than any received in the cities hitherto visited. Gama, however, was still too prudent to accept the invitation to visit Melinda, pretending that his master had strictly prohibited him from landing; but he proposed a meeting in boats between his vessels and the shore. The king, accordingly, was soon seen approaching in a spacious silk pavilion open in front, where he appeared seated

on a chair supported on the shoulders of four men. Vasco then manned his boats, having his officers and sailors dressed in their gayest attire, and sounding trumpets; and, that some fear might mingle with the joy of the Africans, he gave orders to fire a round of artillery. This salute produced an effect beyond expectation; the natives, with every mark of alarm, were hastening back to the shore, when he made a signal to conclude this warlike compliment. He then rowed up to the royal barge, and had a most satisfactory interview. The king was even inspired with such confidence that he rowed round the ships, examining their structure, and putting various questions respecting the nature and uses of the artillery. He inquired about the King of Portugal, his power, the number of his armed vessels, and various other particulars. After this friendly communication, the Portuguese received on board many distinguished visiters, among whom were several Banian merchants from Guzerat, "Pythagorean philosophers," who held it a crime to kill or eat any living thing. An image of the Virgin being presented to those sages, they worshipped her with much more profound adoration than the Portuguese themselves, presenting her with pepper, cloves, and other precious spices. This complaisance probably originated in the common usage of worshipping images, or from some resemblance to the objects of their own adoration; but the Portuguese were willing to regard their conduct as indicating some tincture of Christianity, which might, they supposed, have been introduced by the missionaries of St Thomas. Amid this increasing familiarity, Gama

no longer hesitated to sail along the coast, viewing the skilful manœuvres of the Arab cavalry. The king came down to the shore, and urged him to land; but the admiral still thought it prudent, under pretext of strict injunctions from his master, to decline this pressing invitation.

The Portuguese commander being now supplied with a trusty pilot, Malemo Cana a native of Guzerat, quitted on the 26th April the African coast, to which his own progress and that of his countrymen had hitherto been confined, and launched into the vast expanse of the Indian Ocean. They now saw at once the northern and southern polar constellations, the former of which had long ceased to be seen. As yet it was new for European mariners to steer three thousand miles through an immense ocean, with nothing visible except sea and sky. But at length, being wafted by favouring breezes, they happily performed this voyage, and in twenty-three days beheld a high and bold coast, which the pilots declared to be India. It was not, however, contiguous to Calicut; but a change of course brought them in four days to a station whence Gama descried that large city stretching far along the shore, having behind it a fertile and beautiful plain terminated by a distant range of lofty mountains. The object of his long and adventurous voyage, and that of Portuguese ambition and enterprise during successive ages, was now attained; he was on the shores of India. A solemn thanksgiving to Heaven was mingled with loud acclamations of joy at having brought this high adventure to so glorious an issue.

Gama had now to consider in what manner a

communication might be opened with the court of Calicut, and such privileges obtained as would enable his countrymen to carry on an advantageous commerce on this opulent shore. The Mohammedans under Secunder had already established their empire over the northern plain of Indostan; but the Southern Peninsula, and even the Deccan, was still in possession of numerous native princes with various degrees of power. Among these, on the coast of Malabar, a great pre-eminence was held by the sovereign of Calicut, bearing the title of Zamorin, or "King of Kings." He was a Hindoo, superstitious but tolerant, and opening his ports to merchants of every religion. The mercantile world, however, at that period consisted entirely of Moors from Egypt and Arabia, who, by their numbers and influence, possessed extensive means of rendering a residence at Calicut perilous to their enemies or rivals. The commander, that he might proceed with all due caution, began by sending ashore his pilot, along with a condemned criminal who had been brought out expressly to meet the hazard of such perilous missions. Considerable anxiety was felt, after a whole day and night had elapsed without any tidings, and when all the boats and barks were observed carefully shunning the Portuguese as if they had been an infected race. At length the boat appeared with the two messengers and a third person on board. The former reported, that, on their first landing, they had drawn round them an immense crowd, astonished at the appearance of the Portuguese sailor, and eager to ascertain what sort of being he was. In this somewhat awkward situation, they were accosted by a Moor calling

himself Monzaide,* who stated that he had come originally from Tunis, where he had formed an acquaintance with the Portuguese, and had even embraced the Christian faith. He invited them to his house, entertained them with savoury cates and honey, and, on being informed of their mission, professed his resolution to act as their friend. In pursuance of his kind intentions he accompanied them to the ship; on entering which he immediately hailed Gama with the frankest cordiality, bidding him welcome to a country where he would find in abundance emeralds, rubies, spices, and all the richest commodities in the world. The king, he mentioned, was then at Panane, a smaller town about five leagues distant, whither he advised the admiral to send messengers requesting permission to land and engage in traffic. Vasco sent two of his men along with Monzaide, by whom they were introduced to the monarch, and met with the most gracious reception. That prince, having inquired whence they came and the particulars of their voyage, declared they were heartily welcome to his country, and advised them to come round to the port of Pandarane as more secure than that of Calicut, which was merely an open roadstead. This recommendation, being entirely in unison with Gama's own views of the two nautical positions, inspired him with additional confidence. He allowed himself, without hesitation, to be guided to Pandarane, though he declined to go altogether so far into the harbour as the pilot appeared to wish. Here

---

* In Castanheda the name is Bontaybo. However unlike the two words, they are probably corruptions of the same oriental sound.

he received a message requesting that he would visit the king, into whose presence the cutwal or principal officer was appointed to conduct him. The leading men among his crew now besought the admiral to pause before placing his person in the power of this unknown potentate, surrounded with such a host of his mortal enemies; but he magnanimously replied, that he could not otherwise fulfil his duty to his sovereign and his country, which he was determined on no account to postpone to his own personal safety. Leaving therefore directions for their conduct, in case of his being detained or suffering any violence, he placed himself with twelve men under the guidance of the cutwal.

Gama, in landing for the first time on the shores of India, endeavoured to make a somewhat brilliant appearance. His sailors, in their best attire, moved in regular order, with trumpets sounding. He was immediately placed in a palanquin, and carried forward on the shoulders of four men with such rapidity that his attendants, who were on foot, were soon left behind. Thus he found himself entirely in the power of the Hindoos; but they made no improper use of their advantage. On reaching the banks of a river, the bearers waited for the remainder of the party, whom they embarked in two almadias or country-boats. There now appeared in view a splendid pagoda with lofty pillars of brass, where the Portuguese were invited to land. They chose, on very slender grounds, to conclude that this must be a Christian temple,—because the half-naked ministers wore strings of beads like those of the Romish priests, sprinkled the company with water which might be consecrated, and presented sandal-

wood powdered, as the Catholics do ashes. The Portuguese, being ushered into the grand apartment, found the walls covered with images, which being willing to identify with those of the Madonna and saints, they threw themselves prostrate on the ground. Juan de la Sala, however, chancing to look up and observe the strange and uncouth aspect of these imaginary apostles, some of whom brandished four or five arms and had enormous teeth projecting out of their mouths, judged it advisable to guard himself by the exclamation,—" If these be devils, it is God whom I worship." The others laughed; and soon verifying with their own eyes the just grounds of his apprehension, started up and regained the boats.

On the arrival of the party at Calicut, to which the zamorin had now returned, they were joined by several friends of the cutwal, and other nobles or *nayrs*, who escorted them to the palace in pomp, with sound of trumpet. This royal residence, though built only of earth, was of great extent, delightfully situated amid gardens and pleasure-grounds. They were received at the gate by a venerable old man, the chief Bramin, dressed in long white robes emblematic of purity. He took Gama by the hand, and led him through long halls into the presence-chamber, where the zamorin was found reclining amid all the luxurious pomp of the East. The couch was spread on a sort of platform or stage raised above the general level of the apartment; his robe of the finest cotton, and his silk turban, were both richly embroidered with gold; from his ears depended rings adorned with the finest brilliants; and his naked legs and arms were covered with bracelets of

gold and precious stones. On one side an old man held a golden plate, on which was the betel-leaf and areca, the chewing of which is esteemed a great luxury among oriental nations; while on the other side was a golden vase to receive it when chewed. This lofty potentate, on the approach of the Portuguese, merely raised his head from the embroidered pillow on which it rested, and made a sign to an attendant to seat Gama on one of the steps leading to the throne. He received graciously, however, the admiral's credentials, and promised to examine them at leisure,—meantime recommending that he should retire to rest, and appointing for that purpose a place where he would be secure against any annoyance from his Moorish adversaries.

The admiral proposed to wait next day upon the zamorin, but was informed that he must abide the prince's commands; and also, that this second interview must be accompanied with a present, by the value of which the greatness of his royal master, and the importance of his own mission, would be measured. Gama, according to De Barros, had been fully aware that every thing in the East must begin and end with presents; yet his appointments did not indicate any consciousness of this important truth. He had been provided with no royal or suitable gift, and his only resource was to select from the common stores something which might make an appearance not wholly unsuitable. He produced, therefore, some scarlet cloth, six hats, a few pieces of brass and coral, with a little sugar and honey. On viewing this intended donation, the cutwal and his attendants burst into a fit of ungovernable laughter, declaring that, so far from becoming so powerful a

sovereign as his master was represented, it was such as the meanest merchant who entered the port would have been ashamed to offer to the great zamorin. They thought it would be better to send no present at all than one such as this. Gama, however, after serious meditation, determined, wisely it should seem, that the gift, such as it was, should be sent, accompanied by an explanation that, having left Lisbon under much uncertainty, and with scarcely a hope of reaching Calicut, he came unprovided with any present from his royal master, and could only select from his own stores what might seem least unworthy of his majesty's acceptance; but that, in his next voyage, this failure would be amply compensated. The king, apparently satisfied with this apology, admitted the admiral to an interview, at which, if we may believe the historians, he assigned, as the chief motive of his voyage, the belief of the zamorin being a Christian prince,—and received even on that head a satisfactory answer. But, in regard to this point, there must have been on the one side or the other a complete misapprehension.

Hitherto, it appears that the king, actuated by motives of the soundest policy, had shown a decided disposition to favour the Portuguese. The Moors, however, who saw in these amicable feelings their own worst fears confirmed, determined to leave no means untried for the destruction of their rivals. Their leading men held a meeting, and represented to each other, in exaggerated colours, the ruin with which they were threatened from this western people. Their astrologers announced visions which had appeared to them of fleets destroyed or sunk in

consequence of the entrance of these detested strangers into the Indian Seas. The conclusion was, that no exertion should be omitted by which they might destroy the Portuguese vessels. As their direct interference, however, would be justly imputed to motives of rivalry, they adopted a circuitous course. Having subscribed a large sum, they bribed the cutwal, who possessed the intimate confidence of the zamorin, and who could not be supposed to be actuated but by a view to his welfare. This officer represented that all the accounts from the West described those strangers as persons of a very different class from what they had represented themselves; that, instead of being merchants or ambassadors from any king, they were pirates who, having by their crimes rendered the European seas unsafe for them, had unhappily sought in the East an escape from justice, and a sphere in which to exercise their criminal vocation. He added, that, in their passage along the coast of Africa, they had committed the most dreadful outrages, firing upon the towns, and carrying off the inhabitants; of which they were so conscious, that, though received at Melinda in the most friendly manner, they could by no entreaty be prevailed upon to land. It was manifest that had they come, as they pretended, under the commission of a great monarch, they would have brought some present corresponding to his dignity, instead of offering one of which the meanest trading captain would be ashamed.

The king considerably moved by these representations sent for Gama, who possessed no means of directly refuting the charges; but he entered into



Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

very full explanations, with which his majesty appeared satisfied, and allowed him to depart unmolested. The admiral, who did not quite admire the aspect of affairs, had no sooner left the palace than he got into his palanquin, and set off full speed for the ships. The cutwal, however, using great diligence, overtook him with a body of his nayrs, and politely rallied Vasco on his extreme haste, which, he said, had nearly deprived him of the pleasure of being his escort. It behoved the commander to frame some apology, and pretend a satisfaction which he was far from feeling. Late in the evening he reached Pandarane, and eagerly inquired for a boat; but none, he was assured, could be found at the moment; and he was, with some difficulty, prevailed upon to spend the night in a spacious mansion fitted up for his reception. In the morning he was early prepared for departure; but, in confirmation of his secret fears, found all the avenues strictly guarded by nayrs, and his egress politely but firmly resisted. He was a prisoner. The cutwal was inflexible as to his detention, yet treated him with the utmost politeness and respect, and even exhausted every form of courteous importunity to prevail upon him to send out an order for bringing the ships close to the shore. He represented the many dangers they incurred as long as they were kept thus tossing in an open roadstead, while the position which he recommended would at once place them in safety, and secure the confidence of the zamorin, who could not but interpret their present position into a proof of guilt and fear. Gama, fully aware that this proposal was urged solely in the hope of obtaining an opportunity of burning or otherwise destroying his

vessels, chose to dissemble his conviction, and merely replied that his ships, from their large dimensions, could not with safety be drawn on shore, like the flat-bottomed barks of India. Seeing clearly that the zamorin's officers were acting without any authority from him, he assumed a high tone, and loudly proclaimed that, by some channel or other, he would bring his grievances under the view of that monarch. At length he was allowed to go on board, after having landed part of his cargo, which he left under charge of his factor Diego Diaz, and Alvaro de Braga his secretary.

The cutwal and the Moors, since they could not keep Gama in confinement, studied to spoil his market; and they had influence sufficient to prevent almost every purchaser from repairing to Pandarane. He sent Diaz to complain of this conduct to the zamorin, who appeared always disposed to favour trade, and allowed the cargo to be brought to Calicut, where it was advantageously disposed of. These transactions led to considerable intimacy with the natives, many of whom went familiarly on board the ships. Yet the Moors abated nothing of their enmity; and Monzaide sent advice, that they had at length completely gained over the king to their hostile views. Of this Diaz was soon made sensible, when he waited on the zamorin to take leave, and to request that his majesty would sanction the continuance of the trade, and fulfil the intention formerly expressed of sending an ambassador to Portugal. His hopes were at once chilled by the cold and frowning looks of the prince,—an effect which he had it not in his power to remove by the presentation of a suitable gift. On his return he found himself es-

corted by a large body of nayrs, in token as he at first hoped of respect; but, when he reached the factory they immediately placed him under close confinement. Gama being, through his steady friend Monzaide, duly apprised of this outrage, felt his situation somewhat embarrassing. Judging it necessary to dissemble, he received successive parties of the natives with his accustomed cordiality, and even wrote a letter to the king betraying no consciousness of any injurious conduct. The Indians accordingly resumed their intercourse with the same confidence as formerly, and he had at length the satisfaction to see the approach of a boat, having on board six nayrs and fifteen other distinguished personages. These had no sooner entered the vessel than they were arrested and placed in close custody. The admiral then wrote to the king, informing him of this step, and adding, that as soon as his majesty should be pleased to release the factor and secretary he would receive his own subjects in return. The king pretended ignorance of the factor's detention, yet appeared little disposed to yield to this compulsory mode of redress. Gama, determining then to take summary measures, weighed anchor, and set sail. Presently seven boats were seen pulling out from the shore with the utmost speed; in one of which were discerned the factor and secretary. They were cautiously sent forward in a boat by themselves, in which Vasco returned the principal captives. He nevertheless detained several of his prisoners, who he hoped might be gained over by good treatment, and, after seeing the splendour of the realm of Portugal and the honour in which the members of the expedition were held, might return

next year with a report calculated to dispel the injurious suspicions instilled into the zamorin.

This conduct, however, was unjust and unwise, confirming for the present all the suspicions of the prince, and inspiring him with irreconcileable enmity. He immediately despatched a squadron of boats, which closely followed the Portuguese, watching every opportunity of attack;—he succeeded even in arming against them the whole coast of India. A spy who came out from Goa, being discovered and tortured, confessed that the zabaio, or sovereign of that territory, was busily equipping an armament destined for their destruction; and that every bay, creek, and river, were filled with boats ready, at a moment's warning, to cooperate in the same undertaking. Under such circumstances, the Portuguese leader, though somewhat unprepared for the voyage, could no longer delay his departure, and accordingly resolved to steer across that formidable ocean which separated him from the African coast. He had a tedious passage of four months, delayed alternately by storms and calms, while the scurvy renewed its terrible ravages among his crews.

In a most exhausted state he reached Magadoxo, a more northerly port than any he had formerly visited; but, learning that it was entirely in possession of a bigoted tribe of Moors, he chose rather to proceed to the friendly harbour of Melinda. There he was received with the wonted cordiality, and amply supplied with fresh provisions, which could not, however, arrest the mortality that had begun to rage on board. The sailors were so reduced in strength and number that they could not undertake

to navigate all the three vessels round the Cape; and hence he judged it necessary to burn the St Raphael, and convey her stores on board of the two other ships. In his progress along the coast of Africa, he touched at the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Monfia, and met a good reception; but avoided having any communication with Mozambique. Being regularly supplied with fresh provisions, the whole crew, at the time of passing the Cape, were fit for duty, and they met with no farther obstruction in making the circuit of Africa. The admiral, however, had to sustain at Terceira the deep affliction occasioned by the death of his brother Paulo, who had rendered the ties of kindred closer by being an able and faithful coadjutor in this grand expedition. On the 29th August, 1499, he entered the Tagus after a voyage of two years and two months, in which he had fully explored a new path to the commerce and empire of India. But of the hundred and eight men who had originally manned the vessels, only fifty-five returned to their native country.

Gama, according to the devotional and somewhat superstitious spirit of the age, repaired first to the convent of Bethlehem, and spent eight days in paying homage at the shrine of Our Lady. He then made his entry into Lisbon with a pomp resembling that of a royal conqueror. The king celebrated his arrival with bull-fights, puppet-shows, dog-feats, and other entertainments, suited to the taste of that rude age. He bestowed upon him and his posterity the titles of Don, and of Conde de Vidigueira; assigned him a liberal pension, to be commuted as soon as possible into a landed estate; and finally

granted the still more valuable privilege of importing, to a considerable amount, Indian spices, free of duty. That Our Lady also might obtain her reward, he raised a splendid temple to her honour, which was afterwards converted into a royal palace.

# CHAPTER IV.

## *Portuguese Settlements and Conquests in India.*

Expedition of Cabral—Discovery of Brazil—Passage of the Cape —Arrival at Calicut—Friendly Reception—Quarrels with the Moors——Factory Destroyed—Hostile Proceedings——Establishment at Cochin—Return—Juan de Nueva—Second Voyage of Gama—His severe Proceedings at Calicut—Visits Cochin—Wars between Calicut and Cochin—Exploits of Pacheco—Lope Soarez —Almeyda—Maritime War in Guzerat—Albuquerque—Unsuccessful Attempt on Calicut—Reduction of Goa—Expulsion from that City—Its Recovery—Means employed for Cementing the Portuguese Power—Conquest of Malacca—Of Ormuz—Albuquerque is Superseded—Dies—Extent of Portuguese Dominion —Remarkable Sieges of Diu—General Confederacy against the Portuguese—Defeated—Their Decline—Wars with the Dutch— With the English—Low State of their Power.

Not a moment was lost by the Portuguese in following out the grand objects of naval and commercial enterprise. An armament was immediately equipped, at that time considered truly formidable, and which, consisting of thirteen ships and twelve hundred men, was indeed sufficient to keep the sea against all the navies of the East. The command was not bestowed upon Gama; whether it was that an opposite interest had begun to prevail at court, or that his conduct in the former expedition had

been considered as not altogether discreet and conciliatory. On this, as on every other subject which might affect the reputation of their sovereign, the Portuguese writers maintain a profound silence. The new admiral was Alvarez Cabral, a person perfectly qualified for this important undertaking. He was accompanied by eight Franciscan friars, and, according to De Barros, was instructed to carry fire and sword into every country which should refuse to listen to their preaching.

On the 8th March, 1500, the king repaired to the convent of Bethlehem, heard mass, and delivered a consecrated banner to Cabral, who then kissed his majesty's hand and embarked. The assembled multitude beheld the fleet depart next day with sensations of joy, much more general and unmixed than those with which they had seen Gama set forth on his bolder and more doubtful adventure. The passage through the Atlantic was distinguished by a brilliant discovery. Standing westward to avoid Africa, Cabral found himself unexpectedly in sight of another shore, extensive, fertile, finely wooded, and evidently forming part of the continent recently made known by Columbus. This coast was that of Brazil, which proved afterwards the brightest jewel in the crown of Portugal, continuing to shine after all the others were dimmed. From thence Cabral steered direct for the Cape of Good Hope, where, during more than two months, he was involved in the most frightful tempests, in which he lost four of his ships. In one of them was the renowned Bartholomew Diaz, who thus perished amid those mighty seas which he had been the first to brave. Cabral had only three vessels with him when he

doubled the Cape, which he passed without having seen it. Like his predecessor, he missed Sofala, though in its vicinity he detained a vessel which had been richly laden with gold; but the crew, prepossessed with the idea that they were about to be attacked by pirates, had thrown the greater part of it overboard. On being assured that no injury would be done to them, nor to any other friendly ship, they expressed the deepest regret, and vainly implored the Portuguese to use the magical powers which they were understood to possess, to bring up the treasure again from the bottom. Cabral scarcely stopped at Mozambique, but remained for some days off Quiloa, which he found a large and flourishing port, situated in a very fertile country. The king behaved at first with the utmost cordiality, and consented to hold an interview with the admiral on the water; though he was more alarmed than flattered by being saluted with a general discharge of artillery. But there soon appeared symptoms of that jealousy which arises from the difference of religious creeds; and hence it became manifest that commerce could not be transacted upon any liberal or advantageous footing. He therefore set sail for Melinda, where he met with the same agreeable reception which his countrymen had twice before experienced. The king rode over the bowels of a sheep newly killed to the edge of the water, and earnestly solicited a visit from the Portuguese admiral, who, however, firmly declined the proffered honour. The latter then left the African coast, and, after touching at the island of Angedive, came, on the 13th September, in view of the city of Calicut.

He is said to have entertained considerable anxiety

in regard to the reception that he was likely to experience, after the abrupt and somewhat uncourteous close of the transactions with Gama in the former expedition. First appearances indeed were very promising. Some of the principal people came out in almadias, or country-boats, with assurances from the zamorin of the most friendly disposition. Cabral then restored the captives carried off by his predecessor, handsomely dressed, and ready to bear testimony to their good treatment. Having received an invitation to land and visit the prince, he expressed an earnest wish to comply and to negotiate a treaty of amity and alliance, only soliciting that four persons of distinction, whom he named, should be sent as hostages. To this proposal the king very strongly objected, as these were Bramins of high and holy character, who could not, without profanation, enter a ship, or perform there any of their sacred ceremonies and ablutions. The Portuguese commander however stood firm, and carried his point. Preparations were forthwith made on shore for his reception, by erecting a gallery, which, though not very spacious, was richly hung with carpets and curtains of crimson velvet fancifully embroidered. Here Cąbral, having equipped his attendants in the most handsome manner, found the monarch ready to receive him. The sole clothing of his majesty was a richly-embroidered cloth round the middle; but his person presented a most dazzling spectacle, being adorned with girdle, bracelets, rings of gold, diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and very large pearls. The interview was amicable; the present, consisting of several vessels of wrought gold and silver, and cloths ingeniously wrought, was graciously ac-

cepted, and, in return, full liberty was conceded to establish a factory in Calicut. Meantime the hostages, who on their passage to the ship had shown the deepest alarm and horror, were struck, on entering, with such dismay that they threw themselves into the sea, and endeavoured to swim to the boats; but two of them were brought back and thrust into close confinement. This caused such a panic on shore, that, even after Cabral's return, no vessel would venture out to receive them; and these unfortunate chiefs remained three days on board without tasting a morsel, and in a state of the most deadly consternation, till the admiral, compassionating their sufferings, and even dreading fatal consequences from their agitated feelings, contrived to land them on an unfrequented part of the coast.

The intercourse with the city was opened in a very amicable manner, and some even of the Moors assumed outwardly the character of friends. It was intimated to Cabral that a very large vessel was passing from Cochin, a hostile city, having on board a rich cargo, part of which consisted of seven elephants, one of them peculiarly desired by the zamorin, to whom, therefore, he could not do a more acceptable service than to capture this foreigner. The European, with less regard to justice than expediency, undertook the exploit, and directed Duarte Pacheco to perform it with a single caravel. This lieutenant, by means of his cannon, drove the ship before him till it was taken, or, according to Osorio, forced into the harbour of Calicut, where it became the prize of the zamorin.

But the pleasure derived from this acquisition did not compensate for the alarm inspired by such

a display of Portuguese prowess. The first good understanding, accordingly, was soon clouded; the Moors used all their influence with the native merchants to prevent any goods from being sent to the Portuguese, who saw numerous vessels richly laden taking their departure, while they, after a delay of two or three months, had made no progress towards obtaining a cargo. The latter laid their complaints before the king, whom they seem to have held responsible for the conduct of his mercantile subjects. He declared that he could not prevent such disappointments; that the Moors were too shrewd both for him and his people; and one day hastily observed, that they had better take forcible possession of one of the Moslem cargoes, only paying for it an equitable price. This hint was very probably thrown out in a fit of impatience, in order to get rid of their complaints, without any idea of its being practically adopted. However, Aires Correa, the factor, a man of a warm and eager temper, was disposed to receive it in its literal sense; while his pretended friends among the Moors eagerly urged him not to neglect the royal permission. Cabral, on this information being transmitted to him, felt it to be a matter of extreme delicacy, and was by no means forward to engage in the transaction. Correa, however, sent repeated and urgent representations to him, upbraiding his supineness, and almost threatening mutiny.

The Moors, meantime, began ostentatiously to lade a vessel with the richest spices, and fixed the hour of her departure, of which they took special care to apprise the Portuguese. The admiral, on seeing the ship quit the harbour, allowed himself to be

overcome by the urgency of his factor and agents, and sent his boats, which captured it, and proceeded to transfer its precious contents to their own ships. The Moors, who had long watched for this crisis, ran instantly to the king, representing that the band of pirates were now seen in their true colours, having, in defiance of his royal power, commenced their system of robbery. His majesty, who had either forgotten his alleged permission, or never meant it seriously, entered into their views, and allowed them to seek redress as they chose. The nayrs, and other inhabitants of Calicut, joined the Moors, and all together proceeded in a united body against the factory. The Portuguese felt so perfectly secure that they at first supposed the tumult to be raised only in jest, and hence, on ascertaining its hostile purpose, found great difficulty in shutting the gates. Correa, with his slender troop, forthwith manned the roof of the edifice; but it was a contest of seventy individuals against thousands, who rent the air with their cries, and poured in a thick cloud of darts and javelins. Signals of distress were raised to inform Cabral of their situation, who at first sent two boats to reconnoitre, and then all his strength, with orders to push full speed to the shore. Meantime the Moors, unable to effect an entrance, brought a large battering engine, which overthrew part of the wall and afforded an inlet to the infuriated multitude. The little band of Portuguese were completely overpowered. Aires Correa and fifty men were killed; the remainder leaped into the sea and swam to the boats.

Cabral, witness to this dreadful catastrophe, called together his officers, and in the heat of the moment

determined by the most decisive measures to avenge their wrongs. Yet, according to Castanheda, a short pause was allowed to give room to the zamorin to offer an explanation; but when, instead of this, tidings were brought that he was employed in sharing the plunder of the factory, it was resolved no longer to delay a severe retaliation. Ten Moorish ships were attacked and taken, their cargoes emptied into those of the Portuguese, and their crews made prisoners; the captured vessels were then ranged in a row, set on fire, and exhibited in full blaze to the citizens of Calicut. The assailants next drew their squadron as close as possible to the shore, and began a furious discharge of artillery, when they had the satisfaction to see the city on fire in several places, and of being assured that a ball had nearly struck the king, who hastily fled into the country.

Having thus gratified his resentment, Cabral set sail from Calicut, and proceeded southward to Cochin, the second city on this coast for greatness and commercial importance. In those days the preliminary step necessary in all eastern traffic was a negotiation with the sovereign. He happened at that juncture to be in the interior, but the admiral had secured as a mediator one Michael, a yogue or fakir, one of those eastern sages who wander over the country half-naked, smeared with cow-dung, and abjuring all the decencies and accommodations of social life. This holy but uncouth messenger was completely successful. The king, an oppressed and reluctant vassal of Calicut, saw, in the commerce and alliance of these powerful strangers, the means of deliverance from this yoke, and of raising himself to an equality of splendour and importance.

He even hastened to the city, and gave them an audience, which passed most satisfactorily, though the Portuguese saw nothing of that profuse wealth which had dazzled them in the person and court of the zamorin. The city, compared to Calicut, did not exhibit the same busy and crowded scene of commerce: there was, however, abundance of pepper, the commodity chiefly valued by the Europeans, and a cargo was obtained with the utmost facility. When they were ready for sea, tidings came that the King of Calicut had sent against them sixty sail, of which eighteen were very large vessels. Cabral went out with the resolution to give them battle, without much dread of the result; but, as a favourable wind sprung up, he considered that even a victory could be of no benefit to his country, and that he should more completely realize the object of his expedition by carrying home the cargoes with which he had laden his vessels. He touched at Cananor, and met a reception, if possible, still more friendly than at Cochin; afterwards, steering round Africa, he reached Lisbon on the 31st July, 1501.

But, before his arrival, the king had sent out three additional ships and a caravel, under Juan de Nueva, to reinforce his squadron. This officer was steering directly for Calicut, but fortunately found at San Blas, on the coast of Africa, a letter detailing the tragic and hostile proceedings which had taken place, and advising him to proceed at once to Cochin. He followed this course, and was well received, though the Moors here also succeeded in raising some obstacles to European traffic. The zamorin, on learning the arrival of the new admiral, sent a fleet to attack him; but it was beaten off

with such vigour as induced the Indian monarch to make overtures for accommodation, to which Nueva did not, in the first instance, think fit to listen.

Meantime Cabral had arrived at Lisbon, where the narrative of his disasters, and of the deadly hostility which he had encountered, excited a deep interest. Not only the individuals who from the first had opposed those distant and perilous enterprises, but even some who had supported Gama in his early career, considered the undertaking as having now assumed a very critical aspect. As long as the object was confined to establishing factories, forming alliances, and purchasing valuable cargoes, such expeditions had promised to augment without hazard the splendour of the monarchy and the national wealth; but now when a mighty war was to be waged against a monarch situated at the opposite extremity of the globe, in a burning and pestilential climate, the resources of a small kingdom would too probably, they thought, be vainly exhausted in the attempt. The king, however, remained unmoved by these arguments. Inspired, as usual in that age, by a mixture of religious and ambitious motives, he trusted in the papal grant which had conferred on Portugal the dominion of all the eastern regions discovered by her fleets, and deemed it both a right and a duty to take possession of the inheritance of these proscribed nations. Descending to views of a more ordinary policy, he reflected, that against the hostile disposition of Calicut the friendship of the potent kings of Cochin and Cananor would be a powerful counterpoise. In short, he was fired with the ambition of founding an eastern empire; and, accordingly, instead of being intimi-

dated by these tidings of temporary reverse, chose at this very moment to assume the high title of "Lord of the Navigation, Conquest, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India." To make good such high pretensions an armament was fitted out, much larger than had yet been sent into the Eastern Seas. The main fleet, amounting to fifteen sail, was ordered to support the factories of Cochin and Cananor; while another squadron of five vessels was directed to assume a station at the mouth of the Red Sea, with the view of excluding the hostile Moors from any communication with the coast of Malabar. The command of the fleet was offered to Cabral, and that of the squadron to Vicente Sodre, uncle to Vasco de Gama; but the former not brooking a divided power, Gama himself was again invested with the direction of the expedition.

This officer, in his progress round Africa, touched for the first time at Sofala, where he formed a treaty of alliance and commerce. At Quiloa he assumed a higher tone, and, in resentment of the inhospitable treatment inflicted on Cabral, extorted from the king a promise of submission and tribute. Approaching the coast of Arabia, he met and captured a large Moorish vessel; when, we regret to add, he stained all the glory of his discoveries by the most savage cruelty, and in the excess of his anger outdid the crimes which he came to avenge. Having first plundered the vessel, and shut up all the crew in the hold, he set it on fire. He then made for the coast of India, touched at Cananor, and thence proceeded to Calicut. Here a negotiation was opened, to demand redress for the injuries sustained by Cabral. Gama, conceiving that the transac-

tion was studiously protracted by the native authorities, collected fifty of the Indians from several vessels which he had captured, and, with an hour-glass in his hand, assured the messenger, that unless he received satisfaction before the glass was run, all their lives would be forfeited. The time having elapsed without obtaining a reply, he fulfilled his savage threat; adding to its horror by cutting off the hands and feet of the victims, which he sent on shore. Having then for some time poured a destructive fire upon the city, he sailed to Cochin, where he was received with the accustomed cordiality. Soon afterwards, however, a message was brought from the zamorin, by a Bramin of venerable age and aspect, as well as of the most consummate address, who began by making inquiries respecting the Christian religion, for which he professed great admiration, and even feigned a disposition to embrace it. He then assured Gama of his master's anxious wish to renew his friendship with the Portuguese, and to make ample reparation for the wrongs they had suffered; in short, he wrought so artfully upon the admiral, as to prevail upon him to go to Calicut in a single ship to confer with the zamorin. But when he arrived at that port, instead of being admitted to the expected meeting, he found himself, as might have been anticipated, surrounded by thirty-four proas of the enemy, who considered him their certain victim. In this extremity, however, he acted with the utmost promptitude and vigour; for, having cut his cable, he made full sail, and being supported by Vicente Sodre, extricated himself without loss from this imminent peril. The Portuguese then set out upon a cruise, during which

they took several valuable ships, particularly one in which was a most magnificent idol, with a vesture of beaten gold and eyes of emerald. After touching at Cananor, and leaving Sodre with his squadron to blockade the Red Sea, the admiral took his departure for Portugal.

In this last step Gama does not seem to have duly considered the interests and safety of his Indian ally. The zamorin, as soon as he saw the Portuguese force removed, thought the time was come for avenging himself on his refractory vassal the King of Cochin, through whom this foreign enemy had obtained a fixed establishment on the coast of Malabar. He at first represented his preparations as intended only against the Portuguese; but, having mustered a large army, he directed his march upon Cochin, with a peremptory demand, that the king should at once dissolve connexion with this new people, and deliver up all the members of their factory left in his capital. Considerable agitation pervaded the royal councils; a general alarm was spread among the people; and many of his majesty's steadiest advisers were of opinion, that he would in vain attempt to make head against so mighty an invader. But he himself remained firm, determining to brave every peril in support of the Portuguese alliance. His troops, however, unable to withstand the immense force of the enemy, were driven from post to post; his allies, and even his great lords deserted him; and at length he had no hope left but that of being able, with a small and chosen band, to defend a strong passage leading to his capital. The zamorin, flushed with victory, rushed on to the assault; and the Cochinian troops,

after a very gallant defence, in which three princes of the blood fell, were forced to give way. The death of Narmuhin, next heir to the crown and a prince of distinguished gallantry, struck the deepest despondence into the minds of the people; inspiring them at the same time with unbounded rage against the strangers, who, through the king's obstinate attachment to them, had involved the nation in such dreadful calamities. But the monarch still adhered to his allies; and to prevent them from being torn to pieces, he conducted them every where in his own train. Being at length obliged to abandon Cochin, he took refuge in the Island of Vaypin (Vipeen), which, from its natural strength as well as from being invested with a sacred character, afforded a temporary security. It would not, however, have long availed, had he not been relieved by the arrival of ample succours from Europe.

Emanuel was determined to maintain the footing which he had acquired in the eastern world; and having secured at Cochin a fixed point where he might land and concentrate his troops, he despatched his reinforcements, no longer in one united fleet, but by successive detachments. Three expeditions were equipped, one under Alphonso Albuquerque, the future conqueror of the East; another under Francisco Albuquerque; and a third under Antonio Saldanha. Francisco arrived first on the coast of Arabia, and collected there the remains of the squadron formerly commanded by Vicente Sodre, who, neglecting the safety of the King of Cochin, had engaged in the pursuits of piracy, and at length perished in a violent storm. The Portuguese admiral then sailed to the succour of that re-

solute monarch, whom, as we have already suggested, he found in the Isle of Vaypin, reduced to the last extremity. He was hailed as a deliverer, and the troops of the zamorin almost immediately evacuated the city. The Portuguese having reinstated the king, undertook, on the arrival of Alphonso, expeditions into the interior, and even into the dominions of the enemy. On several occasions, however, they were surrounded by greatly superior numbers, and with difficulty escaped. The zamorin then made overtures for peace, which was granted on condition that full satisfaction should be given for the outrages at Calicut, that a large quantity of pepper should be delivered, and that the city should be completely opened to Portuguese commerce. Soon after Fernando Correa had an unfortunate encounter with one of his ships, which he took and carried into Cochin. Osorio represents Albuquerque as acting in the most unjust manner, by refusing all redress or compensation; while, according to De Barros, the zamorin merely caught at this incident as a pretext for dissolving a treaty concluded with the mere view of gaining time. The Albuquerques, on perceiving this hostile disposition, sailed to Calicut, and endeavoured to intimidate the monarch into a renewal of the engagement, but without success. They then, very unaccountably it should seem, set sail for Europe, leaving the capital of their ally guarded only by a few hundred men under Duarte Pacheco.

The zamorin, seeing Cochin left thus defenceless, determined to make a grand effort to crush his rebellious vassal and extirpate that hated race, who, through him, were every day obtaining a firmer

footing on the Indian shores. All his nayrs were summoned; his allies and dependent princes were called into the field; the Moors eagerly forwarded the equipment of the expedition; while two Milanese deserters taught him to cast brass cannon, and to introduce other European improvements. According to report fifty thousand men assembled, and began their march upon Cochin. The rumour of these mighty preparations shook the fidelity of many of the chiefs. Several stole off to join the invader; others, especially the Moors, formed plots to aid him when he should arrive; and a general panic spread even among the well-affected. Attached as the king was to the Portuguese his courage failed; he expressed to Pacheco his fear that every attempt at resistance was now vain, and that no choice was left but of unconditional submission; yet assuring him that care would be taken to secure his safe retreat. The European replied in a tone of lofty indignation, giving vent to his astonishment that the king should doubt whether the Portuguese would fulfil their promise of defending him; and declaring, at the same time, with the fullest confidence, that his little band, aided by the forces of Cochin, would bring the war to a triumphant issue. The king's spirits revived; and, confiding in these assurances, he placed all his resources, and the whole conduct of the campaign, in the hands of Pacheco. That chief, perhaps the ablest and wisest of the Portuguese officers, began to provide with the utmost activity against this imminent danger. He proclaimed the severest penalties against deserters, guarded all the passages by which they might escape, and having detected five Moors while making the attempt, he carried them

on board with the avowed intention of putting them to death. The king made earnest intercession for their deliverance, which Pacheco resolutely refused, and even announced their doom as fixed; yet he only kept them in close and secret custody, that, after the crisis should have passed, he might agreeably surprise the king and their countrymen by their re-appearance. He began also to act on the offensive, making incursions into the enemy's territory; and his return from thence laden with booty wonderfully revived the spirits of his adherents.

The zamorin, meantime, with his mighty host in full array, was bearing down upon Cochin. That city possessed a very defensible position, as it could only be approached across a number of islands separated from the continent by narrow channels. But these channels were passable by fords,—to defend which became the main object of the Portuguese. The invader, supported by a fleet of 160 vessels, marched towards one of these shallows, at a place where his squadron had room to act. They immediately began an attack upon four European barks, and at the same time the whole army attempted to pass over. Pacheco awaited the onset with 400 of his countrymen and 500 chosen troops of Cochin. The latter, however, as soon as they saw the mighty host in glittering armour advancing with loud shouts into the water, fled at full speed, leaving only their two chiefs, whom Pacheco detained, that they might be witnesses of Portuguese valour. The first attack was made by the fleet, whose proas covered the sea; yet his little squadron kept up a fire so well directed, that all the ships which approached were either sunk or dispersed. The

hardest conflict was with twenty, which were bound together by an iron chain; but Pacheco, by a well-aimed discharge from a large cannon, cut the chain in two, and they were scattered like the others. The land army, meantime, were making furious efforts to pass the ford, darkening the air with their javelins, which they discharged from a huge turret with powerful effect. The attack was continued so long, that the Portuguese were nearly overpowered with fatigue; yet their little band maintained their ground so firmly, and kept up so destructive a fire, that the enemy was finally beaten off. Of the Europeans a few were wounded, but not a single man killed; while more than a thousand of the enemy were believed to have fallen.

The zamorin, most deeply mortified by this issue, determined to make another grand effort. He enlarged his fleet to upwards of two hundred vessels, and put 15,000 troops on board, designing to make a combined naval and military attack. Pacheco, on seeing this armament approach, ordered his men not to move till the enemy should come up, when he opened a tremendous fire, which struck them with such amazement, that, in spite of the utmost exertions on the part of their leaders, their whole fleet betook themselves to a shameful flight. Repeated attempts, always with the same result, were made on successive days by the zamorin. On the last occasion the Portuguese were rather hard pressed, and suffered some loss; but the casualties on the side of the enemy were also greater than ever, and sickness having broken out in his army, he renounced all hopes of success, and returned to Calicut.

These advantages may be considered as having laid the foundation of European empire in India. It hence became manifest, that the innumerable multitude of the native people, and the vast armies which they brought into the field, would not avail either for conquest or defence, and that a handful of disciplined warriors possessed an irresistible superiority over the countless hosts of Asia. Pacheco pointed out the road of victory to Albuquerque, by the brilliancy and extent of whose conquests his own name was afterwards eclipsed; yet, with inferior means, he commanded more uniform success, and was perhaps superior to him in wisdom and talent, as well as in humanity. This distinguished officer was superseded by Lope Soarez, who arrived with a fleet and army from Portugal, but who treated Pacheco with merited distinction, and on their return home loaded him with the highest commendations. In his zeal for the public service he had neglected his private fortune, which the king gave him an opportunity of retrieving by appointing him Governor of El Mina, the chief settlement on the coast of Africa. Here, however, a violent faction was raised against him; he was sent home in chains, and kept long in confinement; and though at last honourably acquitted, died without receiving the rewards due to his signal merits.

Soarez, on reaching the coast of India, was immediately waited on by a Moor called Coje Bequi, accompanied by a Portuguese boy who had been a captive at Calicut. They brought overtures of peace from the zamorin, who offered to release all the European prisoners, and to grant every commercial privilege he could desire. This chief appears

to have been now in earnest, and Lope agreed to steer for Calicut, whence a ship brought out to him copious supplies with several of the principal captives, who were delivered unconditionally. The treaty seemed to be proceeding in the most favourable train, when the Portuguese added a condition, that the Milanese who had assisted the zamorin in the late war should be delivered up. The Moorish negotiator replied, that an article which so deeply affected his master's honour could not be concluded without special reference to himself; for which purpose a certain delay was craved, as he was then at some distance in the interior. But Soarez, in that overbearing temper to which his countrymen were too prone, demanded immediate assent; and this being withheld, he opened a fire upon the city, and reduced a great part of it to ashes. He then sailed for Cochin, the king of which earnestly pressed him to destroy Cranganor, a frontier town strongly attached to the zamorin. He found this a somewhat difficult task; however, after an obstinate contest, he took the place, burned it, and carried the fleet in triumph to his head establishment. Having afterwards destroyed a considerable squadron stationed at Panane, he returned to Europe.

In 1505, the King of Portugal sent out a large fleet under Francisco Almeyda, who bore for the first time the pompous title of Viceroy of India. Having spent some time in establishing the dominion of his flag over Eastern Africa, he sailed across to Malabar. In resentment for some acts of piracy, he attacked Onor, and obtained temporary possession of that place; but the enemy came down in such vast numbers, that he was soon obliged to re-embark.

However, as they had suffered severely, and as his strength was still formidable, they were induced to grant his demands. Almeyda was afterwards flattered by the arrival of an embassy from the King of Narsinga, a mighty Mohammedan potentate, whose capital, Bisnagar, was justly described as far surpassing in magnificence the greatest of the maritime cities. The unrivalled splendour of the gems which they offered as presents bore ample testimony to the wealth of their master. They brought a most courteous message from this great sovereign, who even offered to bestow in marriage on John, the young prince of Portugal, his daughter, a virgin of exquisite beauty. What reply was made respecting the lady historians have not recorded; but Almeyda's answer showed a disposition to cultivate a friendly intercourse with this powerful monarch.

On repairing to Cochin he found a remarkable change. Triumpara, the old and faithful friend of the Portuguese, was now a fakir, living on herbs, clothed in tatters, renouncing the world, and entirely absorbed in the contemplation of the mysterious essence of Brahma,—a transformation of which the West has presented only one signal example, but which is much less foreign to oriental ideas. Anxious as Almeyda was to show every mark of respect to this benevolent devotee, it would have been superfluous to bestow his rich presents on one who had bidden adieu for ever to the earth and all its concerns. He tendered them to his nephew, Nambeadim, who, by the law of nayr succession, had succeeded to his uncle's throne. Meantime Coulan, a port frequented on account of the abundance of excellent pepper which it afforded,

had become the scene of a dreadful tragedy. Homo, whom Almeyda had stationed there, finding it difficult to make up his cargo, determined upon using the most violent means for effecting his object. He caused all the Moorish ships to be dismantled, and would not allow them to take on board a pound of pepper till the Portuguese had completed their lading. This outrageous prohibition was as annoying to the natives as to the Moors; and the former were easily induced to join in a scheme of revenge. They assembled in vast numbers, and attacked the aggressors, who, amounting to no more than thirteen, fled to a chapel dedicated to the Virgin. The mob soon surrounded them; but not being able to force an entrance, they brought a quantity of wood, and succeeded in setting fire to the sanctuary, which was destroyed with all who were within it. Almeyda censured and even degraded Homo, who had left the place before this crisis; yet, deeming it not the less necessary to inflict a memorable chastisement on the Coulanites, he sent an armament under his son Lorenzo, who destroyed a great part of their fleet.

Almeyda found himself now exposed to a danger of the first magnitude, and which threatened to shake the very foundation of Portuguese ascendency. The Sultan of Cairo, inflamed at once by that bigoted zeal with which the Mohammedan creed inspires its votaries, and by the injuries which his vessels had sustained from European pirates, fitted out a large fleet, and sent it, under the command of Mir Hocem, to the coast of India, to extirpate that foreign and infidel race who were extending conquest and devastation over all the Eastern

Seas. At the time he received intelligence that this armament was under sail, he had a strong squadron out under Lorenzo his son, to whom he sent instructions to attack the enemy before they could arrive on the coast and be joined by any of the native princes. The young admiral, who had anchored off the port of Chaul, was busily preparing to execute his father's directions when the Egyptian squadron was seen approaching the harbour. The enemy, having a favourable wind and tide, entered the river, and drew up their ships in order of battle. The Portuguese fought for two days with the most desperate valour, not only keeping up a constant cannonade, but boarding and capturing several of the sultan's galleys; and Lorenzo was only prevented by an adverse current from boarding the commander's flag-ship. But on the second day Mir Hocem was reinforced by Melique Az, the viceroy of Diu. At the end of that day the little squadron under the son of Almeyda was dreadfully shattered; the principal officers, including the commander himself, were wounded; and the force of the enemy was so immensely superior, as to leave no hope of a successful resistance. It was determined, in a council of war, to take advantage of a favourable tide, and proceed out to sea. This movement having been commenced at midnight, was going on favourably, when, by a fearful mischance, the ship in which Lorenzo himself sailed ran foul of some fishing-stakes. Pelagio Sousa, who commanded the nearest galley, fastened a rope, and, plying all his oars, endeavoured to tow her off, but in vain. Meantime the whole fleet of the enemy, having discovered the manœuvre, were pressing close behind. Sousa's men, apprehending that they would

be involved in the fate of the vessel to which they were attached, basely cut the rope, when their ship was irresistibly borne out to sea by the current, leaving the admiral's to contend alone with the numerous pursuers. Lorenzo was now entreated to enter a boat, in which he might still have easily regained the fleet; that gallant and high-spirited youth, however, declared his fixed determination not to abandon his crew in this extremity, but to share their fate whatever it might be. He had not yet lost all hope that, by prodigious exertions of valour, he might hold out till the advancing tide should float his vessel. He drew up his hundred men, of whom seventy were wounded, with such skill, that the enemy durst not attempt to board. They merely collected their vessels round him, and opened a tremendous fire, which wrapped the combatants in a cloud of flame and smoke. Lorenzo having received a ball in the thigh, which rendered him unable to move, caused himself to be lashed to the mast, whence he continued to direct and cheer his men. At length another ball struck him in the breast: he fell down and expired. Still the crew resisted three successive attempts to board, till Melique Az, a prince equally distinguished for bravery and humanity, prevailed on the twenty survivors, all of whom were wounded, to surrender, and treated them with the most tender care and sympathy. De Barros adds, that he wrote a letter to Almeyda, deeply condoling with him on the death of his son, whose valour had commanded his warmest admiration.

It was a most painful task to communicate to the governor the loss of his only son, cut off in the midst of such a high and hopeful career. He received the

tidings with fortitude and piety, declaring that he had much less desired for the youth long life than a distinguished character. Gratified in this, and trusting that he was now enjoying the rewards of his excellent conduct, he did not feel any cause to mourn. Amid this equanimity, however, he eagerly prepared to avenge his death, and that too, we are sorry to add, in a temper ill accordant with the meek spirit of the faith which he thus professed. He had prepared a fleet of nineteen ships, having on board an army partly Portuguese, partly natives of Cochin, and was about to depart, when his path was crossed by a most unexpected and annoying event.

Alphonso Albuquerque had been sent out, in 1506, with a large reinforcement to the fleet now in India. He came burning with hope, and big with vast schemes of ambition, aspiring to the reputation of spreading the Portuguese sway over all the East. Having sailed first to Arabia, he reduced Curiat, Mascat, and other important cities on that coast. He then attacked the rich and celebrated kingdom of Ormuz, and, after several dreadful combats by sea and land, had succeeded in imposing a treaty which rendered its king tributary, and was erecting a fort that would have commanded the city, when the treacherous desertion of three of his officers compelled him for the present to relinquish the fruit of his victories. Almeyda, who was friendly to moderate measures, and averse to schemes of conquest, had sent a disavowal of these violent and daring exploits. But what was his astonishment when Albuquerque arrived at Cochin, and presented a commission constituting himself Governor-general of India. To be thus checked in an

undertaking to which he was impelled by such powerful motives was too much for Almeyda. Finding that his principal officers, by whom he was idolized, were ready to support him even in resistance to the royal will, he told his successor that, under the present peculiar circumstances, it was impossible to carry the order into effect till, by vanquishing the Egyptian fleet, he had avenged his son's death. Albuquerque replied indignantly, and not without reason, that the king's mandate was imperative and unconditional,—that any delay in obeying it was equivalent to setting the royal authority at open defiance. The former adhered to his resolution, and even, on polite pretences, declined allowing any share in the expedition to Albuquerque, who retired in disgust to Cochin.

Almeyda now sailed to attack the enemy; but on his way having learned that Dabul, one of the greatest and most splendid emporia on this coast, had embraced with zeal the Egyptian cause, he determined to turn aside and reduce it. This station was very strongly defended, not only by a trench and palisade, but by a fort with powerful batteries, to disembark in the face of which appeared a very perilous enterprise. The Portuguese commander, however, caused the ships to be drawn up in a line facing the shore, then ordered his troops to enter the boats, and push full speed towards the land. They followed his directions with enthusiasm, and even with rapture leaped on shore, striving which should be foremost, and pressed on to the palisade. By this rapid and skilful movement the artillery pointed against the ships, having a somewhat high range, passed over the heads of the advancing troops, who

without any annoyance reached the gates. They could then advance only by three narrow passages between the city and the shore, each stoutly defended by large bands of armed citizens. The contest was dreadful; the piles of dead formed a barrier more formidable than even the palisade; and the assailants thronging behind impeded each other. Almeyda, perceiving these obstacles, ordered Vasco Pereyra to penetrate by another passage less open but alsoless diligently guarded, by which he entered the city, and soon placed it in possession of the Portuguese. The conqueror gave it up to plunder; and his followers, it is admitted, stained their glory by inexpressible cruelties. The streets streamed with blood, and the parent besought in vain for the life of his child. The distracted multitudes fled in crowds to the great mosque, but soon finding that no place was sacred in the eyes of their enemies, hastened through the opposite gates, and sought for refuge in the caves of the neighbouring mountain. The commander took up his quarters in the mosque; but confusion still reigned through the city, and in the morning an alarm was given that a fire had broken out in the eastern quarter. The flames spread rapidly through the light fabrics of timber; the sparks flying from roof to roof, street after street was enveloped in the conflagration; Almeyda and his officers fled before it; and in a few hours there remained of this magnificent city only a pile of smoking wood and ashes. The fire also reached the shipping, which was entirely consumed, and even the Portuguese vessels were in danger. According to Osorio and other historians, this conflagration was ordered by Almeyda himself, as the only means of

withdrawing his troops from plunder, and preventing an entire loss of discipline; but De Barros mentions this only as a rumour, which really appears somewhat wild and improbable.

From this bloody and disgraceful triumph, Almeyda hastened to his main object of attacking the combined fleets in the Gulf of Cambay. Overtures of peace were received, but being considered, apparently with little reason, as insidious, they obtained no notice. The enemy's squadrons were strongly posted in the harbour of Diu, where Melique Az advised his ally to await the attack; but the impetuous spirit of Mir Hocem impelled him to leave the harbour, keeping, however, so near the shore as to be supported by a chain of batteries. The large vessels were linked two and two, and defended against boarding by a sloping net-work of strong rope. The Portuguese, notwithstanding, advanced to the attack with the utmost intrepidity. Vasco Pereyra, the hero of the fleet, undertook to bear down upon Mir Hocem himself. The enemy opened a terrible fire, one discharge of which killed ten of his men. Undismayed by this loss, he was soon on board of their ship; but, having for a moment lifted his helmet, a ball pierced his throat and he expired. Tavora with his followers had mounted the net-work, when part of it broke, and they fell down upon the deck; but notwithstanding this accident, the enemy at length were all either killed or forced to quit the vessel. Pedro Cam also attacked another ship, and before the grappling-irons could be fixed, he had thirty-eight of his sailors on the net-work; but they were entangled in it; his own head was struck off, and his men could not use their weapons

with freedom; yet, being seasonably supported by another crew, they rallied and subdued the enemy. In fine, all the large vessels were either sunk or taken; the remainder, discomfited and shattered, retreated far up the river, where the Portuguese could not follow. The captured ships were found to contain ample booty, the whole of which Almeyda divided among the victors.

After this signal defeat, Melique Az sent to treat for peace. The conqueror assumed at first a very high tone, demanding that Mir Hocem, the inveterate enemy of the Christian name, should be delivered into his hands. The Cambayan prince, with that lofty sense of honour which had always distinguished him, declared that such treatment of a firm and faithful ally was altogether impossible, and he could only engage to restore unconditionally all the European captives. With this Almeyda, after such a dear-bought victory, thought it expedient to be satisfied. We grieve to add that, inspired by a very different feeling from that of his antagonist, on arriving off the port of Cananor, he disgraced his cause by a general massacre of his prisoners. It is lamentable that a commander, who had previously gained some reputation for clemency, should have been stimulated to such actions by grief for the death of a son, who had fallen in open and honourable battle against a generous enemy.

On Almeyda's return to Cochin, he was again summoned by Albuquerque to yield up the command assigned by the sovereign to himself; but, encouraged by his partisans, he still held the reins of power, and went so far as to place his rival under a nominal arrest. At this juncture, however,

arrived Fernando Coutinho, a nobleman of high character, with fifteen ships and a considerable body of troops. This officer immediately undertook to mediate between the contending parties, and by representing to Almeyda how very irregular the course was into which he had been betrayed, persuaded him amicably to resign the viceroyalty. Having made this sacrifice to duty, he set sail for Portugal. In passing along the southern coast of Africa his men involved themselves in a scuffle with a band of Hottentots, when he hastened to their aid with a party almost unarmed, and full of contempt for this rude and almost savage enemy. These barbarians, however, swift and fearless, made so terrible an onset, that Almeyda, deserted by his troops, was pierced with a javelin in the neck and expired. The Portuguese writers lament it as a singular caprice of fate, that this illustrious commander, who had fought in all the Indian Seas, and had vanquished the mightiest warriors of the East, should perish thus miserably on a distant and unknown shore, in a contest with a handful of naked and deformed wretches scarcely entitled to the name of men.

Albuquerque now determined not to lose a moment in entering on his vast schemes of conquest. The first object of attack was Calicut, the chief seat of a power the earliest and most virulent enemy of the Portuguese. Coutinho, who was about to return to Portugal, insisted upon being allowed to take the lead upon this occasion, which his rank and the friendship that subsisted between them made it impossible for him to refuse. The fleet arrived on the 2d January, 1510, in front of Calicut; but as the city could only be approached by narrow

avenues through thick woods, in which the whole army had not room to act, it was arranged that the two commanders should advance in separate divisions. Albuquerque's party scarcely slept, so much were they excited by the joyful and eager anticipation of landing; and as soon as day dawned, they could no longer be restrained, but sprung on shore and rushed against a fortified palace, which was to be the first object of assault. A few minutes placed it in their possession; and Coutinho, whose march had been delayed by several accidents, came up and found the prize won. He burst into a torrent of invective against Albuquerque, as having anticipated him contrary to faith and agreement, declaring that he should not be so cheated in regard to the attack of the principal palace, which stood on the other side of the city. Albuquerque attempted to explain, and besought him not to advance without having secured a retreat; but the other would not listen either to advice or remonstrance. He forced his way with impetuous valour through the streets of Calicut, and reached the palace, which, as is common in the East, formed a little town enclosed by a wall, and was the only regular fortification in the city. It was, besides, defended by the main strength of the army; but nothing could arrest Coutinho, who soon forced open the gates, and rendered himself master of the whole enclosure. Deeming his victory already complete and secure, he allowed his men full license to plunder, and, repairing himself to the regal halls, sought rest and refreshment after the toils of the battle. The Indians had been surprised, but were not dismayed; perhaps they had allowed Coutinho to advance so far, with the view of drawing him into a

snare. The chief nayr uttered a cry which, repeated from mouth to mouth to the distance of several miles, drew quickly around him thirty thousand men well armed, and determined to conquer or die. They fell first upon Albuquerque, who with his troops occupied the city, maintaining the communication with the fleet. He found himself wholly unprepared to sustain this sudden attack. The Indians, occupying the roofs and all the most advantageous coverts, poured upon the Portuguese a continued cloud of darts; while they, entangled in narrow lanes and avenues, could neither advance nor recede. Albuquerque, after seeing some of his bravest men fall, had no resource but to set fire to this part of the city. The enemy were dispersed by the flames, when the Europeans, taking advantage of the confusion, made a rapid retreat, and reached the ships. Coutinho meantime received repeated warnings of the alarming state of affairs; but secure in fancied triumph, and viewing the natives with fixed contempt, he shut his ears to all intimations of peril. Soon, however, when his colleague had given way, and the whole force of the enemy was turned against himself, the danger became too pressing to be any longer overlooked. He then sprung to the head of his troops, and fought like a lion. The palace was set on fire; and his men, completely surrounded by a vast army in a disadvantageous position, sought only to cut their way through to the ships. In this disastrous day Coutinho himself fell; and, in endeavouring to defend him, Vasco Sylveira and other chiefs of the noblest families in Portugal shared his fate. De Barros reckons that, out of 1600, eighty were killed and 300 wounded. Albuquerque was

stunned by repeated blows, and remained for some time apparently dead; but he was carried off by his men, and conveyed to Cochin, where he slowly recovered.

This inauspicious commencement in no degree cooled the ardour of the viceroy. Scarcely had he recovered from his wounds, when he resumed his boldest schemes of conquest. He no longer ventured to attack the metropolis of the zamorin; yet he sought for some great city which his countrymen might establish as their capital, and where he could safely moor his fleets, and thence realize his plans of victory and colonization. Timoia, an Indian pirate, the trusty friend of the Portuguese, drew his attention to Goa. This town is situated upon an island twenty-three miles in circuit, if island it may be called, which is separated from the land only by a salt-marsh fordable in many places. The surface is fertile, diversified by little hills and valleys, and almost sufficient of itself to supply a great city with every necessary of life. The surrounding territory, called Canara, forms the seacoast of the Deccan. It had been conquered by the Mogul, and annexed to the dominions of Delhi; but, in the distracted state of that empire, several independent kingdoms had arisen in the south, among which Narsinga, with its capital of Bisnagar, set the example, although the sovereign of Goa, called the zabaim, was the most powerful of these rulers. Timoia, however, gave notice that this prince, being occupied in war with several states of the interior, had left his capital almost unprotected. Albuquerque, readily embracing this suggestion, hastily assembled an expedition, and, in conjunction with his guide, arrived off Goa

on the 25th February, 1510. Several of the forts which defended the approaches having been taken, and the Portuguese fleet brought up close to the walls, the citizens, who were chiefly persons connected with trade, began seriously to ponder the consequences were the place to be taken by storm, especially by an enemy whose deeds of mercy had never been conspicuous. They sent, therefore, a deputation, composed principally of merchants, who privately intimated that the Portuguese commander might obtain admission on certain conditions, including full protection to commerce and private property. Albuquerque granted these terms, and was immediately put in possession of Goa. He fulfilled his stipulations in the strictest manner, adopting every measure calculated to preserve order and prosperity, and even continuing many of the natives in their civil employments. Having occupied the palace of the zabaim, he assumed at once the character of a great eastern potentate; sending an embassy to the King of Narsinga, and receiving, in the most gracious manner, those of Persia and Ormuz, who were then on a mission to the sovereign of Goa. But he soon found himself by no means in the secure and agreeable position he at first imagined. The zabaim, on hearing that his capital was in the possession of those hated foreign invaders, roused all his energies, and disregarded every object in comparison with their immediate expulsion. He at once concluded peace with his enemies, several of whom made common cause with him against this powerful adversary; and an army of upwards of 40,000 men began its march under his direction. Albuquerque undauntedly viewed its advance, though combined with

an internal danger perhaps still more formidable. In this distant service, the spirit of discipline was not easily maintained, and both men and officers had acquired a habit of criticising the proceedings of their general. There arose a numerous party, who argued, that with so small a number of troops, and without any prospect of reinforcement, it was madness to attempt making head against the numerous force now approaching, surrounded by a population generally hostile, and in the heart of an immense city, whose inhabitants watched for an opportunity of aiding in their destruction. These fears and reasonings were by no means without foundation; but the lofty spirit of Albuquerque indignantly repelled the idea of tamely quitting so magnificent a prize. A faction of nine hundred Portuguese insisted that so brave an army ought not to be sacrificed to the obstinacy of one man, and began to form plots for wresting the power from their commander, and carrying into effect their own counsels. But having traced this plot to its origin, he surprised the conspirators at a secret meeting, and threw the ringleaders into prison. The remainder sued for pardon, which he could not well refuse, being unable to want the services of any of his small number of troops; they were, therefore, with a very few exceptions, restored to their employments.

The zabaim meantime advanced upon the city. The chief hope of Albuquerque depended upon his success in defending the approaches to the island; but the channel separating it from the mainland was so narrow, and in many places so shallow, that it presented by no means an insuperable obstacle. He stationed chosen troops at all the exposed points,

covering them with walls and intrenchments. The zabaim, completely baffled in his first attempts, had almost resigned himself to despair; but he at length bethought himself of a nocturnal attack, favoured by the monsoon. The night of the 17th May being dark and stormy, two large bodies advanced at different points, and though unable to surprise the Portuguese, succeeded in forcing their way into the island. The whole army was soon transported over, and commenced operations against the city. Albuquerque stood his ground with his characteristic firmness; but as the enemy was aided by repeated risings within the walls, while his own officers took occasion to renew their remonstrances as to the untenable nature of this new possession, he found at last no alternative but to retire into the fort, whence, by means of the river on which it was situated, he could still communicate with the fleet. But the zabaim, having taken possession of Goa, immediately commenced operations for reducing this stronghold. By sinking large ships in the stream, he endeavoured to interrupt the communication, and at the same time provided pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles, for the purpose of setting fire to the Portuguese squadron. Albuquerque, unable to obstruct the progress of these fatal measures, at last felt that he must evacuate the fortress. Even this was become difficult; but he executed his resolution with vigour and success. Having conveyed privately on board all the guns, ammunition, and provisions, and seen the troops embark in profound silence, he went himself last into the flagship. He might have reached the fleet unnoticed and unmolested, had not the explosion of a magazine roused the enemy, and given rise to a severe encounter.

Albuquerque, thus compelled to move out to sea, was anxious to do something which might redeem the honour lost in this undertaking, and revive the spirits of his men. At Pangin, near Goa, the enemy had formed a strongly-entrenched camp, and frequently sent out vessels to annoy the Portuguese. The viceroy fitted out an expedition, which, approaching in deep silence, reached the shore at the first dawn, suddenly landed, and having sounded the drums and trumpets, and raised loud shouts, the Indians awoke in such a panic, that they ran off without once facing the assailants. The European commander, at full leisure, carried off a great quantity of artillery and stores, as well as a large supply of provisions. Learning soon after that a squadron was preparing to attack him, he anticipated the movement by sending a number of ships under his nephew, Antony Noronha, who was met by the Indian chief at the head of thirty paraos; but, after an obstinate conflict, the latter was compelled to retreat full speed to the shore. The Portuguese followed, when Peter and Ferdinand Andrade, with five men, boarded the admiral's vessel; but Noronha, mounting behind them, was severely wounded, and fell into the boat. Amid the general anxiety, and while all efforts were employed to remove the captain out of danger, the Andrades and their party were forgotten; the ship, by the receding of the tide, was left on dry land; they were attacked by immensely superior numbers, and could defend themselves only by prodigies of valour. When their condition was observed, it was for some time doubtful how to reach them; at length eight bold mariners pushed on shore in the long-boat, attacked and made themselves masters of the ship;

but, being unable to tow it off, were obliged to content themselves with the feat of rescuing their comrades. It is pleasing, amid the ferocity of this war, to find an exchange of chivalrous courtesy. The zabaim sent messengers, expressing his admiration of the valour of the Portuguese; and a polite answer was returned. A negotiation for peace was even opened, though without success.

The pride of the enemy being humbled, and the spirits and courage of the Portuguese revived by these exploits, Albuquerque sailed to Cananor, where he refitted his fleet, and received considerable reinforcements; resolving, as soon as the season allowed, to make a second attempt upon Goa. His confidence of a happier issue on this occasion, seems to have been founded chiefly on the fact that the zabaim was involved in war with the kingdom of Narsinga, which was likely for some time to occupy the greater part of his forces. Unable, however, to muster more than 1500 Portuguese and 300 native troops, it was a very serious undertaking to attack a large and strong capital, garrisoned by upwards of 9000 men. Goa had been farther strengthened by a new wall and ditch, and by a stockade drawn through the water, behind which the ships were moored in security, and stood like so many towers. However, Albuquerque arrived in front of the city, and though there was no appearance of his ally Timoia, he determined not to delay the assault. In the morning he opened with his cannon a tremendous fire, and the whole shore was wrapt in a cloud of smoke, illumined only by the flashes. He landed and divided his troops into two parts, one of which was led by himself, and attacked the northern quarter; the other,

in three separate bands, proceeded in an opposite direction. One division, led by the Limas and other chosen heroes, anticipated their commander, and drove the enemy within the walls. As the latter were shutting the gate, Fernando Melos thrust in a large spear, which prevented it from closing. Several others following the example, it was, after a most desperate struggle, forced open, and the Portuguese entered along with the fugitives. These, however, still made a resolute stand in the houses and corners of the streets, particularly in the palace of the zabaim. Here a strong body had taken post, and twenty Portuguese who rashly advanced, were almost entirely cut to pieces. John de Lima, on forcing a passage, found his brother Jeronymo, with several of his comrades, lying in the agonies of death; but the fallen chief professed perfect resignation to his fate, and entreated that there might not, on his account, be an instant's delay. The enemy, driven from the palace, rallied on a neighbouring hill. The commander, who had been extremely surprised to find the battle raging in the city, now entered, but had still to wage a hard contest of six hours' duration before Goa was completely in his power.

Albuquerque, being left for some time in the undisturbed possession of this capital, applied himself to secure it as a permanent acquisition to his country. His views on this subject materially differed from those of Almeyda, who conceived it wisest to keep their fleets united and at sea, only touching occasionally at friendly ports. So combined, they appeared to him more formidable than when dispersed over different stations and settlements, while they could at the same time overawe the native powers with-

out giving any reasonable ground of jealousy. Albuquerque's opinion, on the contrary, was, that a large city and a spacious port, which they could call their own, were essential to the maintenance of Portuguese supremacy. They would then have a secure station for their fleets, a fixed point for receiving reinforcements, and a retreat in case of disaster, without depending on the precarious friendship of native allies. He studied, therefore, to render Goa a suitable capital for an eastern empire. He sent and received ambassadors, whom he astonished by the display of a pomp surpassing even that of India; and he surprised them still more by the extensive fortifications and useful works which he had already constructed. He viewed it also as an essential object to attach the natives to his government, for which purpose he adopted a somewhat singular expedient. Having numerous female captives, some belonging to the first families in the country, he treated them in the most honourable manner; but, not satisfied with this, he proceeded to arrange matrimonial connexions between them and his European followers, without leaving much choice on either side. Some such procedure is at least alluded to by De Barros, when he compares his mode of cementing the Portuguese power to that employed by Romulus for peopling his infant state of Rome. It was made an absolute condition with the brides that they should embrace Christianity; an obstacle which was not found insurmountable, the prejudices of caste and religion being less deeply rooted there than in other quarters of India. A few such marriages being formed, the viceroy showed the parties peculiar favour, and bestowed on the hus-

bands some of his best appointments. The principal families, finding themselves aggrandized by these connexions, no longer objected to them, and additions were easily made to their number. De Barros tells an odd story of a great number of weddings being celebrated at once with a splendid festival, when the lights being prematurely extinguished, it became difficult for the parties to recognise each other, and they fell into many mistakes. Next morning an investigation was proposed; but, on mature reflection, it was judged wisest, that each should remain content with the wife who had accidentally fallen to his lot, though different from the one to whom the church had united him; and the affair furnished to the army only an occasion of mirth.

Having thus settled the government, the viceroy resumed the consideration of his more distant schemes of conquest. Two objects engrossed his mind,—Ormuz, the splendid emporium of the Persian Gulf, which had been snatched from him almost in the moment of victory; and Malacca, a native kingdom, considered then as the key of the remotest regions and islands of Asia. The latter obtained the preference. The capital, though situated upon the coast of a barren peninsula, was enriched in an extraordinary degree by being the emporium of the commerce carried on between Hindostan, China, and the eastern islands,—a trade which now gives prosperity to Sincapore. Albuquerque sailed thither with a force of eight hundred Portuguese, and six hundred natives, to oppose which the king had mustered a garrison that has been represented as exceeding 30,000. Negotiations were opened, and professions made on both sides of a desire

for peace; but it was obvious that such an expedition could terminate only in an appeal to arms. A vigorous resistance was made by wooden machines, cannon, and a species of artificial fire peculiar to the East; but the intrepidity of Albuquerque and his followers finally triumphed. He expelled all the native troops, and became complete master of the city. He immediately began to erect a strong fort out of the materials of the shattered palaces; he settled the government on that firm yet conciliatory principle which distinguished his policy; and opened negotiations with Siam, Java, and Sumatra, from which countries it is even asserted that he received friendly embassies.

During Albuquerque's absence on this expedition, the zabaim mustered his forces, and sent a powerful army under successive commanders, who forced their way into the Island of Goa, erected there a strong fort called Benaster, and pressed the city very closely. The viceroy, having at last arrived with a considerable reinforcement, obliged the enemy to raise the siege, but was completely repulsed in an attack on the garrison; and it was not till after repeated assaults that he was able to drive the enemy from their fortress, and finally establish the Portuguese supremacy in Goa.

The viceroy again resumed his plans of distant conquest, but was baffled in two successive attempts upon Aden, then the chief emporium of the Red Sea. At length he equipped a great armament to achieve the most favourite object of his ambition. With 1500 European and 600 Asiatic troops he sailed against Ormuz, where his strength was considered so formidable, that the king did not venture to oppose

his demand for permission to erect a fort. Having performed this task with his usual diligence, he forthwith suggested the great convenience of transporting to this station all the cannon in the city. The unfortunate monarch, conscious of the state to which he was reduced, felt it no longer possible to refuse even this request; and the celebrated Ormuz became completely a Portuguese establishment.

It may be observed, that we have passed rapidly over these last exploits, as being performed in countries beyond the limits of India.

This brilliant career was approaching to its close. Albuquerque was now somewhat advanced in years, and his constitution, exhausted by so many toils, began to exhibit symptoms of decay. Finding his health in an infirm state, he became anxious to revisit Goa. As he passed along the coast of Cambay, letters arrived with tidings which struck him to the heart. A new fleet had come out, and Lope Soarez, the name of all others which he most detested, not only commanded it, but was appointed to supersede him as Governor of India. New officers were nominated to the principal vessels and forts,—all of them known to be most hostile to his interest. His power and influence, he felt, were at an end. The Portuguese writers, always silent on every thing which might affect the credit of their sovereign, give no hint of the motives that induced him to cast off so suddenly the man who had conquered for him a great empire. European counsellors, it may be presumed, possessed the ear of the monarch, and might whisper that the viceroy was becoming too great to continue a subject. There was not even a letter or any other mark of honour to soften this deep disgrace.

The death-blow had now been given to Albuquerque, who no longer wished to live. Amid his agonies, it was suggested to him that the attachment of his adherents was so devoted as might enable him to defy the mandate of an ungrateful master, and still remain ruler of the Indian Seas. He seems to have opened his mind for a moment to the temptation, but finally repelled it, and sought only in the grave a refuge for his wounded pride and honour. Violently agitated, refusing food and refreshment, and calling every hour for death, he could not be long of finding it. As his end approached, he was persuaded to write a short letter to the king in favour of his son, expressed in the following proud and pathetic terms:—"Senor,—This is the last letter which, in the agonies of death, I write to your Highness, of the many which I have written during the long period of my life, when I had the satisfaction of serving you. In your kingdom I have a son, by name Braz de Albuquerque, whom I entreat your Highness to favour as my services may merit. As for the affairs of India, they will speak for themselves and for me." Feeling that he must die before reaching Goa, his mind became tranquillized; he ascribed the present change to the ordination of Providence, and turned all his thoughts to that other world on which he was about to enter. A light barge sent before him brought out the vicar-general, who administered to him the sacraments of the church; and on the morning of the 16th December, 1515, he expired. He was carried in pomp to the shore, where his funeral was celebrated by the tears both of the Portuguese and of the natives, whose hearts he had completely attached

to him. Thus died Alphonso d'Albuquerque, who stood foremost among his countrymen, and ranks with the greatest naval commanders of modern Europe.

At his death the Portuguese empire in the East, so recently founded, had reached its utmost limits. Only a few points on the remoter coast of Africa, and two or three settlements on the shore of Coromandel, were afterwards added to it. This empire, according to the boast of their historian Faria y Sousa, stretched from the Cape of Good Hope to the frontier of China, and comprehended a coast 12,000 miles in extent. It is impossible however not to observe, that this is somewhat of an empty boast, since over this immense space there were not perhaps more than thirty factories established,—and the nearest sometimes separated by upwards of a thousand miles. In many, perhaps in most cases, they possessed not a spot of ground beyond the walls of the fortress. Their real dominion was on the ocean, where their ships, armed and manned in a manner superior to those of the native powers, were victorious in almost every encounter. This species of empire, with the exclusive commerce between Europe and India, they retained for upwards of a century. Their history, during this period, consists chiefly of the struggles to maintain their ground against the natives, whom their domineering, bigoted, and persecuting spirit, soon inspired with the bitterest enmity. These contests, which ended usually in the repulse of the latter, and in the two parties being replaced in their wonted position, are too monotonous to justify a detailed narrative. One or two of these disputes, however, were so memorable as to deserve to be here recorded.

In 1536, Nuno da Cunha, then governor-general, obtained permission to erect a fort at the important city of Diu, in a situation highly favourable for trade, but which brought his people in contact with the powerful kingdoms of Cambay and Guzerat. Badur, king of the former of these nations, who at first welcomed their approach, soon began to view them with jealousy. In a visit that he paid to the settlement a scuffle ensued, in which he himself was killed, while the governor and several of the European chiefs shared the same fate. Sylveira, who succeeded to the command, made the greatest efforts to justify the conduct of his countrymen in the eyes of the natives, and appeared at first to have succeeded; yet there still remained a leaven of discord. This was strongly fomented by Khojah Zofar, a Moorish chief, who had at first embraced, with apparent zeal, the cause of the Portuguese, but afterwards became their bitterest enemy. Through him a great force was levied in Guzerat, with which Solyman Pasha, the governor of Cairo, was ordered by the Grand Seignior to co-operate. This officer sailed from Suez with seventy galleys, having on board 7000 of the best Turkish soldiers, and a superb train of artillery. He was joined on his arrival by upwards of 20,000 troops of Guzerat, and early in September, 1538, laid close siege to the Portuguese fort. Sylveira had only 600 men, many of whom were sickly; and in consequence of an interregnum in the general government, occasioned by the appointment of Garcia de Noronha to supersede Nuno da Cunha, no succours were received from Goa. He, however, prepared for resistance with the utmost vigour; and the siege which he sus-

tained is considered one of the most memorable in the annals of Portuguese domination in Asia. Exploits of the most daring valour were achieved, the women vying with the other sex in courage and enthusiasm. Donna Isabella de Vega assembled the females within the fort, and, representing that all the men were required to bear arms against the enemy, induced them to undertake the laborious task of repairing the works shattered by the incessant fire of the batteries. Ann Fernandez, lady to a physician, ran from post to post, even while the assault was hottest, cheering and encouraging the soldiers; and her son falling in one of the attacks, she carried away his body, then returned to the scene of combat, and remained till the close, when she went to perform his obsequies.

Under the impulse of this enthusiasm, the enemy were defeated in successive attempts, made during several weeks, to carry the fortress by storm. The garrison, however, who suffered in each attack, were at length reduced to less than half their original number, and these so exhausted that they could ill continue such severe exertions. The enemy, wearied out and exasperated with the length and obstinacy of the defence, determined to make one grand and desperate effort. They first began by withdrawing their galleys, as if intending to raise the siege, then at midnight suddenly returned, and immediately applied scaling-ladders to the sea-wall. The garrison were instantly roused, and hastened to meet the attack; but the enemy persevered with such fury, that they at length forced an entrance into one of the principal bulwarks. They were repulsed by an almost preternatural valour, and are reported to have had

1500 men killed and wounded in the assault. But after so long and desperate a conflict, the Portuguese had not above forty soldiers fit for duty; Sylveira was already oppressed by the most gloomy apprehensions, when, to his joyful surprise, he found that the enemy had made their last effort. Solyman, not aware, it may be presumed, of the desperate situation of his adversary, weighed anchor on the 5th November, and set sail for Egypt with all his fleet.

Khojah Zofar, who continued to retain the supreme sway in Guzerat, still cherished the most inveterate rancour against the Portuguese. Seven years after the period now mentioned, he assembled an army nearly as large as the former, and invested the castle of Diu, defended by Don Juan Masçarenhas with a garrison of only 210 men. With this slender force the governor most stoutly and gallantly maintained his post, keeping up a very destructive fire on the besiegers. The King of Cambay, who had come in the firm expectation of witnessing the fall of the castle, was so alarmed by a ball which penetrated his tent and killed an officer by his side, that he departed, leaving his generals to prosecute the siege. Khojah Zofar had his head carried off by a cannon-shot; but his son, Rumi Khan, inherited his daring spirit as well as his enmity to Christians. Notwithstanding the valour with which the besieged repulsed every assault, their numbers were gradually thinned, and they began to suffer the extremities of famine. At length Alvaro de Castro brought a reinforcement of 400 men; but these troops, having insisted on being led out against the enemy, were driven back after suffering a great loss. In October,

1545, however, the new viceroy, Don Juan de Castro, one of the ablest and most distinguished of the Portuguese officers, arrived; and having a powerful armament, he considered himself in a condition immediately to commence offensive operations. He broke through the enemy's intrenchments, obliged them to give battle, and drove them, with prodigious slaughter, into the city. Thence they sallied with 8000 men, whom De Castro totally routed, and, entering along with the fugitives, was soon master of Diu; but he stained his glory by giving it up to indiscriminate plunder and massacre. He returned to Goa on the 11th April, 1546, and made a most splendid triumphal entry, with music playing, his brows adorned with laurel, and the royal standard of Cambay dragged behind him. The streets were hung with silk, and resounded with acclamations. Queen Catherine, however, on receiving the account of this ostentatious procession, is said to have remarked, that the governor had indeed conquered like a Christian, but had triumphed like a pagan.

De Castro held the office of viceroy only from 1545 to 1548, during which time he established a high reputation, and made the Portuguese name dreaded over all the coasts of India. He appears to have been zealous in the service of his country, and singularly disinterested; since, after holding the government during the period we have mentioned over this rich province, he died in extreme poverty. But the dreadful barbarities of which he was guilty, though they do not seem to have revolted the historians of his own country, must stain his glory in the view of all nations possessing more humane feelings.

The most critical situation in which the Portuguese settlements were ever placed was in 1570, under the government of Don Luis de Ataide. Adel Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulk, two distinguished officers under the Mogul, formed an alliance with the zamorin; and all three agreed to unite in expelling this foreign people from the coasts of India. The siege of Goa, considered the most important enterprise, was undertaken by Adel Khan, who collected for this purpose his whole force, estimated at 100,000 men, and commanded it in person. His army spent eight days in defiling through the Ghauts; after which, being encamped in tents ranged in straight lines, in that regular and magnificent order observed by the Mogul soldiers, it presented the appearance of a handsome and spacious city. The viceroy was apparently taken by surprise, not having in Goa above 700 troops, with 1300 monks and armed slaves. By stopping a fleet about to sail for Europe, he might have obtained a reinforcement of 400 men; but he intrepidly rejected this resource, on account of the inconvenience which would be occasioned at home from the vessels not arriving; he was also, perhaps, ambitious to show that he could defend Goa with only its own garrison, and such soldiers as might be obtained from the neighbouring settlements. The enemy began a series of most formidable attacks, attempting first to cross into the island. Don Luis, however, not only defended it with success, but, on receiving some reinforcements, made repeated sallies into their quarters, on which occasions his troops acted with their usual courage and barbarity. Having killed numbers of the natives, the soldiers sent into the city cart-loads of

heads, to afford to the people the savage encouragement derived from this spectacle. At the end of two months Adel Khan began to despair, and even opened a correspondence with the governor; but as each party not only concealed his wish for a termination of the siege, but assumed an air of haughty defiance, the negotiation made very slow progress. Ataide received various reinforcements, particularly one of 1500 men from the Moluccas, and was thus rendered so strong, that the enemy could scarcely cherish any hope of success. The Moorish general, however, observing a point which, from confidence in its natural strength, had been less carefully guarded, resolved on a desperate attempt to effect a passage. On the 13th April, Solyman Aga, his captain of the guards, made an attack so sudden and vigorous, that, in spite of the most desperate resistance, part of his troops forced their way into the island; but the Portuguese soon mustered their forces, and, after a brisk conflict, drove back or cut in pieces the whole of the assailants. Adel Khan, who viewed from the opposite bank this obstinate engagement and the discomfiture of his troops, was equally enraged and disheartened. From this time all his operations were conducted in a languishing manner; yet his pride induced him to persevere for several months longer, till, about the end of August, he struck his tents, and withdrew from before the city, after sustaining during the siege a loss of 12,000 men.

Meantime Nizam-ul-Mulk, in fulfilment of his part of the stipulation, advanced with an army equally formidable against Chaul, then a settlement of considerable importance near Bombay. The de-

fence of this place appeared still more hopeless, it being situated entirely on the continent, and defended only by a single wall, with a fort little superior to a common house. The governor-general was therefore advised to withdraw his troops without any attempt at resistance; but he formed a more courageous resolution, and Luis Freyre d'Andrada the commander of the town, having his garrison reinforced to 2000 men, undertook to supply all deficiencies by his valour and genius. After some unsuccessful attempts to carry the place by a *coup de main*, the enemy opened a regular and formidable battery of seventy cannon. At the end of a month the town had suffered considerable injury, the wall was entirely beaten down, and the assailants were attacking house after house. Each mansion, however, was successively converted into a species of fortress, and defended with the utmost obstinacy. The Moors, attempting a general assault, penetrated the city at different points, but at each were finally driven out. In one house that the Portuguese were obliged to evacuate, they had lodged a mine, which unfortunately sprung before they left it, and killed forty-two of their number; while another dwelling was defended six weeks, and a third during a whole month. In the beginning of June, when the siege had continued nearly half-a-year, and many thousands of the besiegers had perished, some overtures were made for an accommodation, but without any result. The nizam then renewed the attack with greater vigour than ever, and carried successively the monastery of St Dominic, the houses of Nuno Alvarez and of Gonzalo Menesez. This progress was too slow to fulfil his object, but it encour-

aged him to attempt one grand and desperate assault. On the 29th June, the whole army rushed forward with barbarous shouts against the ruined works, on which the small band of Portuguese had taken their stand. The artillery in full play alternately illumined the air and wrapt it in darkness. The shock was terrible; the enemy planted their colours on several of the remaining bulwarks, and seemed repeatedly on the eve of obtaining full possession of the city; but the valour of the Portuguese was always in the end triumphant. The Moorish general, after continuing the attack till night, drew off his army, and soon after opened a negotiation, which terminated in a league offensive and defensive.

The zamorin manifested little zeal to fulfil his part in the grand alliance. Indeed, on seeing the Portuguese hard pressed by the two other confederates, he offered, on certain conditions, to withdraw from it altogether, and conclude a separate treaty. But the pride of Ataide disdained, even in this extreme peril, to purchase peace by any humiliating concession; he defied the monarch's power; trusting to his own talent, and the prowess of his countrymen, to extricate him from every difficulty. The zamorin then sent some small aid to the nizam, and afterwards laid siege to Chale, a fort about two miles from Calicut. But this place being defended with the usual vigour, and its garrison reinforced, he was obliged to withdraw; hence, this formidable combination, which had comprehended the greatest powers of Southern India, was, by the conduct and valour of the Portuguese governor and troops, entirely dissolved.

By these and other achievements, the subjects of

Portugal, during the whole of the sixteenth century, maintained their possessions on the coasts, and their supremacy in the seas of India. Even after their energies and courage had given way, the high name which they had established deterred the natives from any attempt to shake off the yoke. But about the year 1600, a new enemy appeared, much more formidable than any power which they had yet encountered in that quarter of the globe. The Dutch, driven to desperation by the tyranny of Philip II., had revolted against Spain, and after a long, hard, and glorious struggle, raised themselves to the rank of an independent republic. Even before the neighbouring states had fully recognised them in this character, they had gained the reputation of being the first naval power in Europe. Owing to the narrow extent of their territory, they themselves, as well as the multitude of refugees who sought among them the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, were induced to seek on the ocean the source of subsistence and wealth. The happy situation of their coasts, both for commerce and fishery, had already led to considerable progress in these branches of industry, which now attained a magnitude before unexampled in modern times. After embarking so deeply in these pursuits, their attention could not fail to be attracted by the trade of India, to which has always been assigned an overrated importance. They were not, however, yet prepared to encounter the naval armaments of Spain and Portugal, which guarded with the most jealous care all the approaches to the Indian Seas. They were hence induced to attempt a passage by the north of Asia, which the imperfect knowledge then possessed respecting the extent of

that continent, and the character of its Arctic shores, led mariners to regard as not impracticable. Three successive expeditions were accordingly sent, chiefly under the command of Barentz; the last of which was obliged to winter on the dreary shores of Nova Zembla; but they failed altogether in their hope of discovering a north-east passage, which, if it does at all exist, must, it was found, be too circuitous and incumbered to be ever productive of any practical utility.

The Dutch now felt the impossibility of rivaling the Portuguese by any other route than that round the Cape of Good Hope; and their courage and resources having been augmented in the course of a successful struggle for liberty, they no longer hesitated to brave all the dangers of this undertaking. The necessary information was obtained through Cornelius Houtman, who collected it during a long residence at Lisbon. The jealous government there, displeased with his active and diligent inquiries, threw him into prison, whence he was liberated only on the payment of a considerable ransom. By his instructions the Dutch in three months had equipped a squadron of four vessels, well armed and provided with the materials of trade. Houtman set out in the autumn of 1596, and after a tedious voyage, without however encountering any material opposition or obstruction, arrived off Bantam in the Island of Java. He was at first extremely well treated, but afterwards, seemingly through his own rashness and violence, became involved in a quarrel with the king, was thrown into prison, and obtained release only by sacrificing part of his investment. He then effected a safe return to

Europe, where he was received with the highest exultation, having evinced the practicability of a fleet finding its way, without molestation from the enemy, to those remote and opulent shores. The original company, augmented by one more recently formed, sent out early in 1599 a fleet of eight ships under the joint command of Houtman and Van Neck. They reached the coasts of Sumatra and Java, where they carried on a successful traffic; and at length the second of these officers returned to Amsterdam with four ships laden with spices and other valuable commodities.

This favourable commencement encouraged the Dutch to prosecute the Indian trade with the utmost activity. Several new companies began their operations, without being invested with any exclusive privileges, or apparently actuated by any hostile rivalry. Mutually aiding and co-operating with each other, they soon raised the trade to the highest pitch of prosperity. In 1600, not five years after the first of their squadrons had sailed round the Cape, the Dutch sent out forty vessels bearing from 400 to 600 tons, and, by their superior diligence and punctuality, had almost completely supplanted the Portuguese in the spice trade. Hitherto they had studiously shunned any interference with that people, selecting the spots not occupied by them; while the latter seem not to have ventured on any violent measures to enforce their monopoly. However, the Dutch, as they became stronger, began to form schemes for the expulsion of their rivals. They studied by every art to foment the discontent of the natives, who had themselves begun to observe that the Portuguese were more intent on conquest than

commerce, and who were besides disgusted with the harsh means employed for inducing them to renounce the Mohammedan faith. Impelled by these motives, the Malays at Acheen, aided by some Dutch volunteers, surprised the fort which the subjects of Portugal had erected in the bay, and made a general massacre of the garrison. They were deprived in a similar manner of several of their stations on the Molucca Islands, losing in this way some important seats of trade, while those of the Hollanders were continually extended.

Philip II., who on the death of Don Sebastian had seized the crown of Portugal, felt highly indignant at finding his people expelled from these valuable possessions by the arms of a rebellious province, which his own oppressions had driven into resistance, and in fact raised to its present maritime greatness. Having learned that the Dutch East India fleet was expected home, he fitted out an armament of thirty ships, mostly of a large size, and sent them to intercept the enemy. Near the Cape de Verd Islands, this squadron met eight of their vessels going out under the command of Spilbergen. But the latter, by their bravery and skilful manœuvres, succeeded in beating off their assailants, and made their way to India without any serious loss. Philip from this time seems to have given up every attempt to contend at sea with this rising people, and directed all his efforts, though without effect, to subjugate them by military force. He contented himself with issuing proclamations, prohibiting them, under the severest penalties, from trading in any of the Spanish possessions. The Portuguese in India, aided by the Spaniards from

the Philippines, still kept up a harassing piratical warfare, to which the Dutch determined to put a stop by wresting from their antagonists all the remaining settlements in the Spice Islands. In 1605, they reinforced their fleets with nineteen fresh vessels, having on board two thousand veteran soldiers. They then invested, and successively reduced, all the forts which their opponents had erected in the Islands of Amboyna and Tidore, capturing the shipping which lay under their protection, and finally lading their own with valuable spices. The supremacy of the Dutch in the Indian Seas was thus fully established.

To complete this triumph, the Admiral Matelief sailed against Malacca; which the Portuguese had made the capital of their possessions in the more eastern islands. The place, however, was so well prepared for defence, that, after several weeks spent in the most vigorous efforts, he gave up the attempt. But what was his surprise, when on reaching Amboyna he was saluted with a hot fire, and saw the Spanish flag flying on the walls of the castle! This revolution had been effected by a naval force from the Philippines, which, taking advantage of his absence, had sailed to those important islands, and finding them almost defenceless, completely reduced them. Matelief was at first a little disconcerted; but, encouraged by the valour of his men, he landed, attacked the fortress, and carried it by storm, making, as was too common, a general massacre of the unfortunate garrison. Inspirited by this success, he proceeded against the other settlements, and in two months brought them again completely under the dominion of his countrymen.

The Dutch were soon afterwards induced to form a settlement in the Island of Ceylon. In 1605 an expedition was sent thither under the command of De Weert, who was at first favourably received. Having, however, not only violated a solemn engagement in the first instance, but having afterwards, when he went to court, conducted himself with the *hauteur* which his countrymen had now generally assumed, he was seized, and struck dead with a scymitar. His brave companions, who attempted with unequal strength to avenge his death, shared his fate. The tragical issue of this adventure did not discourage Borth the Dutch governor-general, who imputed the disaster of De Weert solely to his rash and culpable violence, from sending a fresh armament under Marcellus Boschkouveur, an officer of distinguished talent and address. He arrived at the critical moment when the Portuguese were advancing from their principal settlement at Columbo in such force against Candy, that the rajah scarcely hoped to be able to resist them. The Dutch commander, however, both by directing the operations of the Candians, and by affording to them the aid of his own troops, gained for them a complete victory. The power of their rivals was thus humbled, while they themselves obtained from the grateful monarch ample liberty to form an establishment on the most advantageous footing. But it was only in 1656, after a long and bloody struggle, that they gained the complete mastery over the subjects of Philip. In that year Columbo surrendered, after a siege of seven months, and the Portuguese were completely expelled from Ceylon. We reserve for the chapter on the English Settlements in India, the account of the contest in

which the Dutch were involved with our countrymen, and the means that they used to thwart their success. Having obtained the complete command of the Oriental Islands, they determined to found a city which might become the capital of their Asiatic possessions, and the centre of all their political and commercial transactions. They fixed upon Jacatra, near the eastern extremity of the south coast of Java,—a very happy situation, commanding the route to the Spice Islands, and enjoying an easy communication with Sumatra, Borneo, and Celebes. Having overcome the resistance of the native powers, they founded a city which, being named Batavia, from the ancient appellation of their country, was subsequently rendered by them a great and flourishing station. Europeans, however, suffer severely from its pestilential climate, the evils of which are increased by canals drawn round the place and even through its very streets, exhaling in this tropical climate the most pernicious vapours.

The Dutch made repeated efforts to drive the Portuguese from Malacca, the capital of their possessions in this quarter of India. At length, in 1640, after encountering an obstinate resistance, they effected their object. They then became complete masters of the Eastern Islands and Seas, with the exception of some settlements made by the English on the coast of Sumatra. But as the Hollanders never formed any important or extensive establishment on the continent of India, to which this volume specially relates, we have given only the above short summary of their oriental career.

In the western provinces the Portuguese had chiefly to encounter the English, and they soon, as

will hereafter appear, found the contest very unequal. Notwithstanding their arts and influence with the Mogul, they were gradually supplanted at Surat and the other ports of Guzerat by the superior power and policy of our countrymen. An expedition, jointly undertaken by the English and Shah Abbas king of Persia, deprived them of Ormuz. The Iman of Mascat, seconded by the natives, expelled them from most of their possessions on the coast of Africa. They were thus stripped of their vast dominions almost as rapidly as they had acquired them; and now Goa and Mozambique, in a very decayed and reduced state, form nearly the sole remnant of that proud empire which formerly extended over so great a part of the eastern world.

## CHAPTER V.

### *Early English Voyages and Settlements.*

Importance always attached to Indian Trade—Mission by Alfred—The English attempt to penetrate to India by the North-East, and through Russia—By the North-West—Voyage of Drake—Of Cavendish—Newbery and Fitch, by way of Aleppo and Ormuz—Fitch visits many Parts of India—First English Voyage by the Cape—Its Disasters—An Association formed—Voyage of Lancaster—Middleton—Michelborne—Keeling and Others—Sharpey—Loss of his Vessel—Sir Henry Middleton—His Adventures at Surat—Hippon—Settlements on Coromandel—Saris—Profits of the Trade—Quarrels with the Dutch—Massacre at Amboyna—Acquisition of Bombay—Settlements on the Coromandel Coast—In Bengal—Disputes with the Mogul—Company begin to form Plans of Conquest.

From the first dawn of maritime enterprise and adventure in Britain, the trade of India was contemplated as its grandest object,—the chief fountain of commercial wealth. Into the sanguine conceptions formed on this subject there entered, no doubt, a considerable degree of illusion. A more enlightened school of political economy seems to have demonstrated, that agriculture and manufactures open more copious sources of prosperity than traffic of any description; that the home trade, from its quick returns, is more productive than the foreign; and the intercourse between closely contiguous countries more valuable than that with distant regions.

A commerce, therefore, of which the market is at the opposite extremity of the globe, can never do more than employ the surplus capital of an already wealthy community. Yet there were circumstances which, even at this early stage of mercantile enterprise, threw a peculiar lustre on the trade of India. The staple articles consisted of finer and richer fabrics than any that had yet been produced in the West; diamonds, pearls, jewels the most beautiful and brilliant; spices, also, the most fragrant and grateful to the senses. The great scale, too, on which operations were conducted, and the large fortunes accumulated in certain instances, gave to this traffic a character of grandeur not belonging to the smaller transactions which took place within the limits of Britain or of Europe. Even the mysterious remoteness of the regions that were to be the theatre of this intercourse,—the train of adventure and uncertainty through which they were to be reached,—heightened their attraction, and were altogether congenial to the spirit of that bold and enterprising age.

It may be proper here to observe, that some record exists of a voyage from England to India at a much earlier period. Hakluyt has quoted two passages from different chronicles by William of Malmesbury, in which it is asserted that King Alfred, in the year 883, sent Sighelmus bishop of Sherburn into the East, that he might present gifts at the shrine of St Thomas. He is said to have happily performed this great undertaking, and to have returned laden with gems and rich spices, the produce of that celebrated region. Some of these commodities were still, when the chronicle was written,

preserved in the church of Sherburn. Such an enterprise was worthy of that great monarch, whose views were far in advance of his age, and were doubtless more liberal and enlightened than those which the annalist here ascribes to him. But it must be very difficult, on such meagre notices, to determine whether so very distant a mission could at that period have been really executed by any one. Without pronouncing it absolutely impossible, we may be allowed to suspect that he merely reached those eastern shores of the Mediterranean, to which Indian commodities have always, by some channel or other, been conveyed in large quantities.

The reign of Edward VI., and still more that of Elizabeth, formed the era at which the spirit of industry and of naval enterprise received that impulse which has since carried them to so unprecedented a magnitude. Prior to that period Britain was surpassed in manufactures by the Flemings, in navigation by the Italians, and still more by the Spaniards and Portuguese. These last, then her bitterest enemies, she had seen, with grief and humiliation, gain unrivalled glory by discovering a new passage to the East, and a new world in the West. They had thus almost completely preoccupied the ground of discovery and settlement, and were, moreover, prepared to defend it in the most vigorous manner against all who should attempt any encroachment. The English, therefore, in the new career on which they were ambitious to enter, had to encounter not only the vast length and difficulty of the voyage, but the active opposition of the two greatest powers who at that time held the dominion of the ocean.

But the nation was not to be deterred by such

considerations. Nor was the ardour of discovery confined to merchants, whose estimates might have been more timid and cautious; it was fully shared by courtiers, statesmen, and warriors. Under the auspices of Elizabeth there arose a galaxy of great men, brighter than had adorned any former period of English history. They began, however, by attempting to reach India by some new path undiscovered by the Portuguese, and where there was no chance of coming in contact with these formidable rivals. The first great effort was made on the northern coast of Asia; but, like that of the Dutch in a former age, it was founded on a most imperfect knowledge both of the great extent of that continent, and of its dreary and frozen boundaries. The expedition, fitted out by a company of merchant-adventurers, and commanded by the gallant Sir Hugh Willoughby, with three well-appointed vessels, had a most disastrous issue. The commander was driven upon the coast of Lapland, where, in the ensuing winter, he and his crew perished by cold and famine. Richard Chancelor, however, with one of the vessels, reached the White Sea, and proceeded to Moscow, where he opened a communication with the court of Russia, then almost unknown in Western Europe. The adventurers having made several other unsuccessful attempts by water in those high latitudes, conceived the idea of opening an intercourse with India across the Russian and Persian empires. They expended in vain much capital and enterprise in this arduous undertaking. Several of their agents penetrated across the Caspian into Persia, and even reached Bokhara, the capital of Independent Tartary. But at length they became sensible

that no goods could pay the cost of such an immense circuit, both by land and sea, besides the hazards and casualties attendant on the passage through the territory of so many barbarous nations. Even when this journey was the most prosperous, the goods could not be so cheaply conveyed as by the direct route across Persia and Syria to Aleppo.

The next attempt was made by the north-west passage, round the Arctic shores of America. This continent was, at that early era, imagined to terminate at a high latitude, in a point or cape, the passing of which would enable the mariner to enter the South Sea, and reach by a direct course the wealthy shores of India and Eastern Asia. Most intrepid, energetic, and persevering efforts to effect this object were made by a succession of illustrious navigators,—Cabot, Frobisher, Davis, Hudson,—and the pursuit has been continued down to the present time. But though brilliant displays have been exhibited of courage and heroism, and striking views obtained of the shores and their rude inhabitants, every attempt to find a regular passage to India by this route has ended in disappointment.

The abortive and even calamitous result of successive efforts to penetrate by the northern extremity of the great continents, or by journeys overland, at length turned the attention of the English nation to the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, as that from which alone any practical benefit could be derived. The exclusive right, however, to this line of navigation was claimed by Philip II., who had now succeeded as King of Portugal; and the claim was somewhat in unison with the laws generally admitted in that age respecting distant discovery. The govern-

ment was afraid of bringing itself into premature collision with the greatest monarch of the time; while private and unarmed vessels, obliged to pass near the coasts of Portugal as well as of her numerous settlements in Africa and India, and exposed to meet her ships continually passing and repassing, could scarcely hope to escape her hostile attacks.

But as the views of British navigators expanded, and their country began to rise to the first rank among maritime nations, a new path suggested itself, from which their haughty rivals would in vain seek to exclude them. Drake, after having served with distinction in the West Indies and on the coast of America, conceived the design of penetrating into the South Sea. The wealth acquired in his former expeditions was expended in fitting out five vessels, the largest not exceeding 100, and the smallest only 15 tons. He equipped them very completely, taking on board rich furniture, fine specimens of British manufacture, and even a band of expert musicians. He prepared every means, in short, by which he might dazzle and conciliate the natives of the vast and unknown regions which he was about to explore. He sailed from Plymouth on the 13th December, 1577, and in August the following year he accomplished a passage through the Straits of Magellan. He then cruised for some months along the western coast of Spanish America, not hesitating to appropriate some rich prizes that presented themselves in the course of his voyage. Having obtained great wealth, though his fleet was reduced to a single vessel, he determined to attempt returning home by the north-west passage. He sailed to the coast of California, of which he claimed the

discovery, and called it New Albion; but finding his main object impracticable, he resolved to cross the Pacific, and proceed to Europe by the Moluccas. He steered directly through the ocean, pausing nowhere till he found himself among the Spice Islands, the valuable productions of which were then the subject of general interest in the West. The King of Ternate, who was in a state of hostility with the Portuguese, gave a friendly reception to the English navigator, who first began that commerce with India which has since been carried to so immense an extent. Having coasted along Java, he proceeded to the Cape without touching at any part of the Asiatic continent. Having taken in supplies at Sierra Leone, he arrived at Plymouth on the 25th September, 1580, after a voyage of two years and ten months. His arrival was hailed with the utmost exultation by the British people, who regarded so successful a voyage as having raised to the highest pitch the naval glory of the realm. The queen, after some cautious delays, visited him on board his vessel, and conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

This brilliant career of Drake encouraged other commanders to tread in his footsteps. Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of extensive property in Suffolk, after having served his naval apprenticeship under Sir Richard Grenville, determined to sell his estate, and embark the produce in a voyage to the South Sea, and round the world. Having left Plymouth on the 21st July, 1586, he reached, early in 1587, the western coast of South America, and, being restrained by no very nice scruples, made a number of valuable prizes. Stretching thence across the Pacific he touched at Guahan,

one of the group to which the Spaniards give the appellation of Ladrones. He passed afterwards through the Philippines, observing with surprise their extent and fertility, and holding communication with the natives, who expressed a decided preference of the English to the Spaniards, by whom these islands had been occupied. Sailing next through the Moluccas, and along the coasts of Floris and Sumbawa, he opened a friendly communication with some of the princes of Java; and, following the course of Drake, reached England in September, 1588, by the Cape of Good Hope.

Notwithstanding the admiration excited by these two splendid voyages, they were on too large a scale to be considered as models for commercial enterprise. Yet, invention being now employed to discover some more suitable channel of intercourse, a body of adventurers resolved upon attempting one hitherto untried by Britons. They proposed to proceed up the Mediterranean,—land on the coast of Syria,—travel by way of Aleppo and Bagdad to the Persian Gulf,—and to sail thence by Ormuz, in order to reach the coast of Malabar. One Stevens, who had made a voyage in a Portuguese vessel to Goa, sent home a most favourable report of the fertility of the region in which that city was placed, the opportunities it afforded for trade, and the liberality with which the port was opened to vessels of every nation. John Newbery and Ralph Fitch, the chief adventurers in this undertaking, were furnished with two letters, the first to the Mogul emperor Akbar, under the title of "Zelabdim Echebar, king of Cambaya." It solicited his kind offices to men who had come from a remote part of the world to

trade in his dominions, promising reciprocal aid and kindness to his subjects. The other, to the King of China, was expressed in nearly the same terms. The travellers set out early in 1583.

Mr Newbery's letters from Aleppo and Babylon (Bagdad) relate chiefly to commercial subjects. In regard to the latter place, he complains that the sale of goods was very slow and difficult; though, had he been well provided with money, he might have obtained abundance of valuable spices at very reasonable rates. From Bagdad he proceeded to Bassora, and then to Ormuz, where he was allowed at first to carry on business without molestation. In six days, however, a charge was raised against the English by one Michael Stropene, an Italian, jealous of rivals in a trade which he himself had found very lucrative; whereupon both Newbery and his companion Fitch were arrested and thrown into prison. The former writes in considerable dismay to his associates at Bassora, saying—"It may be that they will cut our throats, or keep us long in prison,—God's will be done." They were soon sent to Goa; but immediately upon their arrival, after a tedious voyage, they found themselves again in confinement. The chief charge related to Captain (Sir Francis) Drake, who was stated, in sailing by Malacca, to have fired two balls at a Portuguese galleon. Newbery professed total ignorance as to this transaction, which in fact could in no shape be brought home to him. He represented how unjust it was, that while French, Flemings, Germans, Turks, Persians, Moscovites,—all the nations of Europe and Asia,—were allowed freely to reside and traffic at Goa, English men alone should be thus barbarously treated. He

was, however, remanded to prison; but, after being kept in confinement for about a month, was set at liberty, having been required to sign a bond, amounting to 2000 pardaos, not to quit Goa without permission. At the time of writing he had no inclination to leave it, having taken a house in one of the principal streets, and finding his mercantile transactions very advantageous. He met with much friendship from Stevens, who had formerly been a student at New College, Oxford, and had entered the service of the Archbishop of Goa; also from John Linscot or Linschoten, an intelligent Dutch navigator.

According to the accounts given afterwards by Fitch, these favourable appearances proved delusive. They had many of their goods purloined, were obliged to give large presents, and to spend much money in procuring sureties. Having, after a residence of five months, made an appeal to the governor, they received a very sharp answer, being told that they would be better sifted ere long, and that there was further matter against them. This reply struck them with very serious alarm lest they should be made slaves, or, according to some hints that were dropped, be exposed to the *strapado*. They determined, while they yet enjoyed any measure of liberty, to effect their escape, and on the 5th April, 1585, fled out of the town. Proceeding into the interior of India they passed through Bellergan (Belgaum), where there was a great market for diamonds and other precious stones; after which they came to the royal city of Beejapore. Here they saw all the pomp of Hindoo idolatry, the neighbouring woods being filled with numberless temples and idols. "Some be like a cow, some like a monkey, some like peacocks, and

some like the devil." Fitch, who is now the narrator, was struck with the majesty of the war-elephants, and the abundance of gold and silver. He proceeded to Golconda, which he describes as a fair and pleasant city, the houses well built of brick and timber, in a country abounding with delicious fruits, and having in its vicinity rich diamond-mines. He heard of Masulipatan as a great port enjoying a very extensive traffic. From Golconda he struck northward through the Deccan till he reached Burhanpoor, the capital of Candeish. He represents the country to be surprisingly fertile and populous, though the houses were built only of earth and thatch; and in the rainy season, which now prevailed, the streets were rendered almost impassable by streams of water. Fitch viewed with surprise the matrimonial arrangements of the Hindoos, seeing boys of eight or ten married to girls of five or six; and these unseemly unions being celebrated with extraordinary pomp, the two parties riding through the streets "very trimly decked, with great piping and playing." He passed next through Mandoway (Mandoo), the former capital of Malwa, which he delineates as a very strong town built on a high rock, which it had cost Akbar twelve years to reduce. Thence he proceeded to Agra, a great and populous city, superior to London, well-built of stone, and having fair and large streets. The court, however, then resided at Fatepoor, which, according to him, was still larger though less handsome than the other. Being a place of decidedly inferior importance, it must have derived this temporary greatness from being the residence of the court and camp of Akbar. The whole way between these great

cities resembled a market, "as full as though a man were still in a town." He was struck by seeing the grandees conveyed in little carts, carved and gilded, covered with silk or very fine cloth, and drawn by two little bulls of the size of dogs. On the banks of the Jumna he had an opportunity of witnessing the various ceremonies and ablutions performed by the Bramins. "They come to the water, and have a string about their necks made with great ceremonies, and lave up water with both their hands. Though it be never so cold, they will wash themselves in cold water. They pray in the water naked, and dress their meat and eat it naked, and for their penance they lie flat upon the earth, and rise up and turn themselves about thirty or forty times, and use to heave up their hands to the sun, and to kiss the earth with their arms and legs stretched along out. Their wives do come by ten, twenty, and thirty together, to the water-side singing, and there do wash themselves, and then use their ceremonies." He saw also a number of naked beggars, of whom great account was made. One in particular appeared "a monster among the rest;"—his beard of enormous growth, his hair hanging more than half down his body, his nails two inches long; "he would cut nothing from him, neither would he speak; he would not speak to the king." The Bramins are represented by Fitch, as also indeed by modern travellers, to be "a crafty people, worse than the Jews."

On the departure of the travellers from Agra, William Leader the jeweller remained in the service of Akbar, who allowed him a house, a horse, five slaves, and a regular pension. There must,

therefore, have been some communication held with that great emperor, of which, it is to be regretted, the narrator has omitted all the particulars.

From Agra Fitch went to Allahabad, which he calls Prage, a corruption of the name Prayaga, signifying the junction of rivers, and therefore specially applied to the union of the Ganges and Jumna. He descended the former of these streams to Benares, and viewed with wonder that grand seat

of Hindoo commerce and superstition, and the numerous and splendid temples with which it was filled. He beheld the idolatries of this country on a still greater scale than before; almost every spot was filled

with idols of various shapes and sizes, but none exciting any admiration. "Many of them are black and have claws of brass with long nails, and some ride upon peacocks and other fowls which be evil favoured, with long hawk's bills, some with one thing and some with another, but none with a good face. They be black and evil favoured, their mouths monstrous, their ears gilded and full of jewels; their teeth and eyes of gold, silver, and glass." The observances in honour of these uncouth deities were also very various and fantastic,—particularly the modes of ablution in the Ganges. "They never pray but in the water, and they wash themselves over-head, and lave up water with both their hands. Some of them will make their ceremonies with fifteen or sixteen pots, little and great, and ring a little bell when they make their mixtures; and they say divers things over their pots many times, and when they have done they go to their gods, and strowe their sacrifices, which they think are very holy." He was witness also to the burning of wives on the death of their husbands, in failure of which "their heads be shaven, and never any account is made of them afterwards." When a person is sick, they are said to lay him all night before the idol, and if next morning there be no signs of recovery, "his friends will come and sit a little with him and cry, and afterwards will carry him to the water's side, and set him upon a little raft made of reeds, and so let him go down the river." A very odd picture is also drawn of some marriage-ceremonies, to which the traveller was witness. The two parties are represented going into the water along with a priest, a cow, and a calf; "and the

man doth hold his hand by the old man's hand, and the wife's hand by her husband's, and all have the cow by the tail, and they pour water out of a brass pot upon the cow's tail, and then the old man doth tie him and her together by their clothes. Then they give somewhat to the poor, and to the Bramane or priest they give the cow and calf, and afterwards go to divers of their idols and offer money, and lie down flat upon the ground, and kiss it divers times, and then go their way."

From Benares he proceeded to Patenaw (Patna), once the capital of a kingdom, but then subject to Akbar. Though a large city it contained only houses of earth and straw. The country was much infested by robbers, wandering like the Arabians from place to place; whence we may conclude, that the system of *decoit*-gangs was already in full force. The people were greatly imposed upon by idle persons assuming the appearance of sanctity. One of these sat asleep on horseback in the market-place, while the crowd came and reverentially touched his feet. "They thought him a great man, but sure he was a lazy lubber,—I left him there sleeping." Fitch came next to Tanda in Bengal, also subject to Akbar, and thence made an excursion northward to Couche, which appears to be the country situated along the foot of the mountains of Bootan; being described as so moist, that every district could be easily inundated knee-deep, and rendered impassable. The people, who appear attached to the religion of Boodh, showed the usual fantastic reverence for animal life, keeping hospitals for lame or aged creatures, and giving food to ants. Four days' journey beyond, was the coun-

try Bottanter (Bootan), represented as of great extent, and filled with mountains so lofty that they could be seen at the distance of six days' journey. This report was correct, but imagination only could have induced the people to assert that from the top of these eminences the sea could be descried. This region was frequented by merchants from cold countries in the north, dressed in woollen cloths, hats, white hose, and boots (the Tartars); and by others without beards from a warm region in the east (Chinese). The former reported that their country contains a numerous breed of small but active horses, whose long tails, covered with a luxuriant growth of hair, formed an article of import into India, where they were greatly valued.

Fitch now came southward to Hugli (Hoogley), "the chief keep of the Portuguese," and undertook a journey through Orissa, the borders of which he found almost a wilderness, with few villages, "grass longer than a man, and very many tygers." The haven of Angeli, which we know not how to identify, was found the seat of a very great trade, frequented by vessels from Sumatra, Malacca, and various quarters of India. Returning to the Ganges, he made an excursion also into the eastern district of Tippara, whose inhabitants were engaged in almost continual warfare with the Mogen (Mugs), occupying the kingdom of Recon (Arracan). Again reaching the river, he notices Serrepore (Serampore), and several other towns situated on its lower branches. The people of this part of India, he observes, were in a state of regular rebellion against the Emperor Akbar, being favoured by the numer-

ous islands and river-channels, and the facility of retreat from one to another. He justly characterizes the cotton fabrics in this district as of superior quality to those made in any other part of the empire.

From Serampore our traveller obtained a passage in a vessel to Negrais in the kingdom of Pegu, and had an opportunity of visiting that capital as well as Malacca, then a great Portuguese emporium, where he learned some particulars respecting China and Japan. Returning to Bengal, he "shipped himself" for Cochin, and in his way touched at Ceylon, which he found "a brave island, very fruitful and fair." The Portuguese held a fort at Columbo, which the king often attacked with a hundred thousand men, "but naked people all of them," though partially armed with muskets. Having doubled Cape Comorin, and observed the extensive pearl-fishery upon this coast, he passed by Coulan, and reached Cochin, which he found by no means a desirable residence; the water was bad, and victuals very scarce, the surrounding country producing neither corn nor rice; yet the want of a conveyance obliged him to remain there for eight months. The Zamorin of Calicut, he understood, continued still hostile to the Portuguese, and carried on a species of piratical war, sending out flotillas of four or five proas with fifty or sixty men each, which swept the whole coast from Ceylon to Goa, boarding every vessel which they encountered.

Leaving Cochin, Mr Fitch sailed successively to Goa and Chaul, whence he obtained a passage to Ormuz, after having achieved the most extensive

journey that had yet been performed through India by any European.*

Although this expedition was executed in a manner creditable to the adventurers, and much information collected respecting the trade and commodities of India, still it was evident that commerce, carried on by a tract so circuitous, and exposed to so many perils, could never be either very safe or very profitable. It was in fact one of the channels by which the traffic had been conducted by the Venetians, who were much better situated for it than the English, and who had yet been unable, ever since the discovery of the passage by the Cape, to sustain the rivalry of the Portuguese. The mercantile interest began now to contemplate the last-mentioned route, as alone affording the prospect of a secure and advantageous intercourse. It was guarded, however, with the most jealous care by the Spaniards and Portuguese; and the British government, though then at war with these nations, hesitated in sanctioning arrangements which would shut the door against accommodation. Mr Bruce found in the State-paper Office a petition, presented in 1589 from sundry merchants, requesting to be allowed to send to India three ships and three pinnaces. The answer does not appear; but in 1591 three ships were actually sent out under Captains Raymond, Kendal, and Lancaster, who sailed from Plymouth on the 10th April. In August, when they reached the Cape, the crews had suffered so much from sickness that

* An ingenious writer, Maritime and Inland Discovery, vol. iii. p. 191, expresses a doubt as to the authenticity of this narrative. I am not able to discover on what this rests. It is inserted in the standard collection of Hakluyt, and the narrative appears to me to bear every stamp of truth.

it was found necessary to send Captain Kendal's ship home with the invalids. The two others proceeded on their voyage; but near Cape Corrientes they were overtaken by a most tremendous storm, in which the Raymond, the admiral's ship, was separated from its companion, and appears to have perished. Lancaster's vessel alone remained; but four days after it was visited with such a dreadful thunder-storm, that four men were killed on the spot, and all the others either struck blind, severely bruised, or stretched out as on the rack. Having in some degree recovered, they sailed onwards, and reached the island of Comorro, where they took in a supply of water. The natives at first gave them no annoyance; but, after confidence had been fully established, two parties of sixteen each, when busily employed on shore, were suddenly surrounded by a vast troop of these treacherous people; and Lancaster had the distress of seeing his men almost entirely cut in pieces, without the possibility of affording them any aid. Sailing thence with a heavy heart, he touched at Zanzibar, where he found good anchorage, and put his vessel into tolerable repair; but though not openly annoyed by the Portuguese, he learned that they had formed a scheme to attack his boat. Adverse gales now carried him out of his course, till he approached the Island of Socotora, when the wind becoming favourable he stood directly for Cape Comorin. He doubled it in May, 1592, and having missed the Nicobar group, proceeded to Sumatra, and thence to the uninhabited islands of Pulo Penang, where he spent what he calls the winter, being the season distinguished by the heavy gales to which those seas are exposed

in July and August. Sailing along the coast of Malacca he fell in with three vessels of 65 or 70 tons, one of which struck to his boat alone; and, as it was found to belong to certain Portuguese Jesuits, he felt no scruple in making it a prize. Determined to persevere in this practice, he stationed himself off the Straits of Malacca, through which the Portuguese vessels were obliged to pass in their way to China and the Moluccas. He soon took one of 250 tons, from Negapatnam, laden with rice. A fine ship of 400 tons from St Thomas escaped; but a short time afterwards he fell in with a splendid galleon of 700 tons from Goa, which almost immediately surrendered. She was found richly laden with all the commodities fitted for the Indian market. The captain and crew contrived by a stratagem to effect their escape, when Lancaster, displeased with the disorderly conduct of his own men, took out the most valuable articles, and allowed her to drive to sea. He then sailed for the Bay of Junsalaom (Junkseylon), where he obtained some pitch to refit his vessels, whence he made for the Point de Galle in Ceylon. There he took his station to wait for the Bengal and Pegu fleets, which were under the necessity of passing this way. But the seamen, satisfied with their success, and fatigued with so hard a voyage, insisted upon forthwith returning home. They reached the Cape in the beginning of 1593, and, after a tedious voyage round Africa, were obliged, by the scarcity of provisions and bread, to make for Trinidad. They entered by mistake the Gulf of Paria; whence they found their way through the whole group of the West Indies, till they reached the Bermudas. In this quarter they were assailed

by a violent tempest, and driven back. The ship was finally carried out to sea, leaving the captain and crew on a desolate island, where they must have perished but for some French vessels, which took them up and conveyed them to Dieppe. They arrived there on the 19th May, 1594, after a voyage of three years and two months, being double the time usually spent by the Portuguese in this navigation.

The ardour of the English seems to have been for some time chilled by the unfortunate issue of this expedition. On learning, however, that the Dutch, in 1595, had sent out four vessels, they were inspired with a sentiment of emulation. An association, formed in 1599, subscribed £30,000, to be employed in fitting out three ships for the Indian trade. The queen not only gave her fullest sanction to the undertaking, but even sent out John Mildenhall as ambassador to the Great Mogul, to solicit the necessary privileges. Of this mission some account will be given in treating of the reign of the celebrated Akbar, who at that time occupied the throne of Indostan; but the envoy having died in Persia on his way home, his journey led to no practical result. Before, however, he could have returned the English adventurers had begun to act. The first association merged, in 1600, into one on a greater scale, having at its head George, earl of Cumberland, with 215 knights, aldermen, and merchants, who constituted the "Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies." They were invested with the too ample privileges which it was then customary to bestow on mercantile associations, being not only allowed to export bullion to the amount of

£30,000, and English goods for the four first voyages without duty, but obtaining the right of exclusive trade in all the countries beyond the Cape. The charter was granted for fifteen years, but liable to be annulled at any time on two years' notice. They began on the footing of a joint-stock company; though, as the subscribers were slow in paying up their shares, a certain number of the most zealous took the concern altogether into their own hands, supplying the funds on condition of reaping the profits. They expended £68,373, of which £39,771 was invested in shipping, £28,742 in bullion, and £6860 in goods. It was the wish of the court that Sir Edward Michelborne should be nominated to a command; but the merchants intimated their resolution not to employ *gentlemen*, "but to sort their business with men of their own quality." They therefore appointed Lancaster, whose conduct in his former bold though unfortunate expedition was considered highly creditable to his spirit and talents.

On the 2d of April, 1601, this navigator sailed, having the command of five ships, varying from 600 to 130 tons. He passed the Cape of Good Hope without encountering any unusual difficulty. The almost exclusive objects of the Indian trade, at this era, were spices, pepper, cloves, and nutmegs; commodities found in Sumatra, Java, the Molucca and Banda Islands, without landing on any part of the continent. These first voyages, therefore, do not come within the proper limits of our present subject, and will demand only a cursory notice. After touching at Madagascar and the Nicobar Islands, merely for the purpose of taking in refreshments, the commodore proceeded direct to Acheen, the principal port of

Sumatra. Notwithstanding the intrigues of the Portuguese, he concluded a commercial treaty with the king on favourable terms, and proceeded to lade his ships with pepper; which, however, proved so scarce and dear, that he became apprehensive of incurring the loss, and, what he seems to have dreaded still more, the disgrace of returning home without a cargo. From this anxiety he was relieved by meeting a Portuguese vessel of 900 tons, of which he made a prize, and found it so richly laden with calicoes and other valuable goods, that he not only occupied all his tonnage, but could have filled more ships if he had had them. He did not, however, return immediately, but sailed to Bantam, where also he found the utmost facility in concluding a commercial treaty on satisfactory terms. Having sent forward a pinnace of 40 tons to the Moluccas, with instructions to prepare a lading of spices for a future expedition, he sailed for England.

The next fleet, equipped in 1604, was commanded by Captain Middleton, who afterwards, under the title of Sir Henry, acquired the reputation of being one of the most enterprising and distinguished of eastern navigators. He sailed on the 25th March from Gravesend, with the Red Dragon and three other ships, and an invested capital of £60,450. After a favourable voyage, having stopped nowhere but at Saldanha, near the Cape, he arrived in the end of December in the road of Bantam. Here the vessels separated; two remaining to take in a cargo of pepper, one going to Banda, while Middleton himself proceeded to the Moluccas. He found these islands the seat of a most furious war, which the Dutch, in conjunction with the King of Ternate, were waging

against the Portuguese and the King of Tidore. The former nation, from whom the English commander considered himself entitled to expect a friendly reception, afforded subject, on the contrary, for his most bitter complaints. They represented the British as a mere band of pirates, and boasted that the King of Holland was more powerful at sea than all Europe besides. Thus, partly by fear, partly by persuasion, they deterred the King of Ternate from allowing any commercial intercourse; and the Portuguese being masters at Tidore, Middleton does not appear to have attempted any trade there, though he received a letter from the king imploring his aid and that of the English monarch against the Dutch. Captain Colthurst, who commanded the other ship, reached Banda, where he spent twenty-two weeks, without suffering any inconvenience except from the difficult navigation of those seas.

The Company were now threatened with a formidable rivalry. Sir Edward Michelborne, whom they had rejected as the commander of their first expedition, obtained a license from government to undertake a voyage to various parts of the East. He carried with him only a ship and a pinnace, called the Tiger and the Tiger's Whelp. This navigator, however, did not confer any distinction upon his voyage, either by discovery or commercial transaction of the slightest importance. He did not even reach the Moluccas; but while in the Indian Seas employed himself chiefly in piratical practices, not against the Portuguese, for which the hostility between the two nations might have afforded some pretext, but against all native vessels. He captured a Japanese junk, the crew of which first lulled the suspicions of the English

by courtesy and apparent cordiality, then suddenly rose and made a most desperate attempt to possess themselves of the vessel. Captain Davis was killed, and Michelborne escaped only by leaping into the hold, where, with his boatswain, carpenter, and a few seamen, he kept the Japanese at bay, till he could open upon them such a fire as killed a part, and compelled the rest to retreat. Their leader was taken; and being asked his reason for making this assault, replied, he wished to take the ship and cut all their throats; then coolly desired them to hew himself in pieces. Michelborne afterwards captured two Chinese vessels laden with silk, and returned to England with his ill-gotten spoil.

Meantime the Company sent out another expedition of three ships and 310 men, commanded by Captains Keeling, Hawkins, and David Middleton. The two first sailed in April, 1607, entered Bantam road on the 18th October, and immediately pushed forward to the Molucca and Banda Islands. A great change had taken place during the few years that had elapsed since the voyage of Henry Middleton. The Portuguese were no longer heard of in those seas, whence they appear to have been expelled by the Dutch, who were now completing the subjection of the native princes. Keeling, on his arrival, found them engaged in hot warfare, which they justified by stating that the natives had ensnared and murdered forty of their countrymen. Notice was therefore given to the English commander, that he should withdraw his ship from the island which they had conquered by force of arms. Keeling replied, "that till he was commanded otherwise than by words, he would ride there till he was laden;" but finding

soon after that a treaty had been concluded between the Dutch and Bandanese, amounting to the entire submission of the latter, he consented to retire. Middleton, who had sailed on the 12th March, did not meet with the two others, but followed nearly the same course without any remarkable adventure.

A fourth expedition, consisting of two large ships, the Ascension and the Union, was fitted out in 1607, with an invested capital of £33,000, and the command intrusted to Captain Alexander Sharpey. His object appears to have been to reach the coast of Cambay, and particularly Surat, understood at that time to be the most extensive emporium of Western India. He sailed in March, but experienced throughout a series of misfortunes. The two vessels were separated in doubling the Cape of Good Hope, and never met again. The Ascension proceeded along the eastern coast of Africa to Pemba, but was twice attacked by the treacherous Moors, and several of the crew cut off. In the prosecution of their voyage the English, when greatly exhausted, lighted fortunately on a cluster of uninhabited islands, which apparently were the Sechelles, where they obtained an abundant supply of turtles and cocoa-nuts. Proceeding to the Red Sea they touched at Aden and Mocha, where they met with a favourable reception. They descended that inlet, and having touched at Socotora, and obtained some supplies, steered for India. They reached Diu, and prepared to cross the Gulf of Cambay for Surat, but were warned that a pilot, who could be procured on easy terms, was necessary to conduct the vessel in this dangerous passage. The master, however, full of obstinacy and self-conceit, judged himself, without any

such aid, quite competent to guide her course. She was soon entangled in the shoals that abound in this sea, and struck repeatedly with such violence that she became a total wreck. "Thus," says the narrator, "was this tall ship lost, to the great injury of the worshipful Company and the utter undoing of all us the poor mariners." They betook themselves to their boats, and attempted to reach the River Surat, but were compelled to enter that of Gondevee,—a change of direction which proved to be almost providential, for the Portuguese had a force prepared at the former place to intercept and capture them. Some of the crew went up to Agra, where Hawkins then resided as ambassador to the Great Mogul, and contrived to find their way home overland through Persia, while several obtained a passage to Europe from Goa.

The Union, meantime, had not, as was supposed by the crew of the Ascension, suffered shipwreck. Her mainmast had sprung, but the men contrived to recover it, and to reach the coast of St Augustin in Madagascar. Thence they sailed for Zanzibar; but being involved in a quarrel with the natives, lost several of their number, and were obliged to return to that island; but there, too, fresh disasters were sustained, both from the climate and the treacherous hostility of the people. They then proceeded northwards to Arabia, but being at a loss how to find their way to the Indian coast, determined to steer direct for Sumatra. Having reached Acheen and Priaman, they obtained, on advantageous terms, an abundant cargo of pepper. The voyage homeward is very indistinctly related; but it is clear that it was accompanied with many delays and some detriment; and,

in February, 1611, the vessel was run ashore on the coast of Brittany, near Morlaix, where great depredation was committed by the rude inhabitants. The Company, on being apprised of her situation, sent a skilful shipwright, with other persons, who reported the vessel to be wholly unserviceable, but saved two hundred tons of pepper, with the anchors, ordnance, and other equipments. Of seventy-five seamen, who went out from England, only nine survived.

In 1609, Captain David Middleton again sailed with only a single ship, the Expedition, which, with its lading, was valued at £13,700. He proceeded directly for the Spice Islands, and found the Dutch, as before, in great force, and claiming the entire sovereignty; yet, by his address and activity, he contrived to obtain a good cargo. Hereupon their indignation was such, that they formed several plans for destroying him and his vessel, and he was in a great measure indebted to chance for his escape. However, he was fortunate enough to reach Bantam without encountering any serious disaster.

In 1609-10, the Company sent out a larger expedition than ever, consisting of three vessels, one called the Trade's Increase, of a thousand tons; while a capital of £82,000 was invested in the shipping and cargoes. The commander was Sir Henry Middleton, who, in a former voyage, had obtained a character for courage and enterprise, which in the present he fully maintained. The Red Sea and Surat, in preference to the Spice Islands, hitherto the favourite object, were the points of his destination. Having effected his passage round the Cape, he proceeded direct to the Arabian Gulf and the port of Mocha, where he at first flattered him-

self with having obtained a most cordial reception. Being, however, inveigled on shore by the treacherous and bigoted Turks, he was seized, treated with the utmost indignity, and carried a prisoner to Sana, the capital of Yemen. He contrived, however, to obtain his liberation, and afterwards to avenge severely this violent usage.

Middleton now descended the Red Sea, whence he sailed directly to Surat, with the view of opening a mercantile intercourse with that great emporium of India. He arrived on the coast of Cambay in October, 1611, though he had considerable difficulty in finding the river on which the city is built. He at length procured a pilot; but soon learned that his entrance into Surat, and his scheme of commercial transactions, would have to contend with a still more serious obstacle. A Portuguese squadron, represented by some accounts as comprising twenty armed vessels, had stationed itself at the mouth of the river, for the express purpose of preventing the entrance of ships belonging to any other European nation. The commander, Don Francisco de Soto Mayor, sent a messenger to state that, if the English brought a letter from the King of Spain or the viceroy, authorizing them to trade in these parts, they might depend on every attention; otherwise, his instructions were to interdict the port to the people of all countries except his own. Sir Henry very promptly replied, that he had no letter either from king or viceroy; that he came with credentials and rich presents from his own sovereign, to open a trade with the Great Mogul, who was under no vassalage to the Portuguese, but whose territory was free to all nations; that he wished no harm to Don Francisco or

his countrymen, though he considered himself to have quite as good a title as they had to the commercial advantages of Cambay. The Portuguese chief, however, refused the slightest concession, and immediately began to intercept the supply of provisions from the town—causing thereby a most serious privation to the English, among whom, from having been so long at sea, symptoms of scurvy began to be severely felt. At the same time, accounts were received that Sharpey, after losing his vessel in the manner already described, was then at Surat. He had received communications from Hawkins, now at the court of the Mogul, and from Fitch at Lahore, by which it appeared that the Indian rulers were so fickle and easily swayed by opposite influences, while the Portuguese and native merchants were so closely combined against the English, that there could be little hope of establishing any secure or beneficial intercourse. Middleton now paused, and was advised to try his fortune on another division of the coast; but having received from some of the higher authorities in the city an assurance that, were it not for their fear of the Portuguese, they would be very willing to trade with him, he resolved that nothing on his part should be wanting to fulfil the views of his employers. The Trade's Increase was too large to approach the shore; but the Peppercorn, with two smaller vessels, began to move towards the harbour. During their progress, the Portuguese armada kept abreast of the English, between them and the land, in order of battle, with colours flying, and raising loud shouts, yet without showing any disposition to an actual engagement. At length, one of Middleton's boats having been

sent forward to take soundings, two of the enemy's barks rowed out, and openly attempted to capture it. A brisk fire, however, being directed against them, they lost no time in commencing their retreat; and one was so hotly pursued, that the crew leaped overboard, and struggled through the deep mud to the shore. The vessel became a prize to the English, which proved of some value, as it contained a tolerable assortment of Indian goods. The rest of the fleet made a movement in aid of their distressed comrades, but received such entertainment as induced them quickly to retire. The English flotilla was then anchored in seven fathoms water, at the mouth of the river. Every subsequent attempt which the Portuguese made to annoy them, and prevent their landing, was defeated with great loss.

The authorities of Surat, on seeing such determined resolution displayed by the English, no longer hesitated to enter into treaty with them. Mocrib Khan, the governor, with sixteen leading mercantile characters, spent a night on board, accepting with readiness the viands and delicacies presented to them, as well as various little ornamental articles which they were allowed to select as presents. At last the strangers landed, and the parties began to negotiate about the exchange of their respective commodities. Khojah Nassan and the other merchants produced an ample assortment of calicoes; but Downton complains that they both bought and sold at rates most unsatisfactory, expecting very exorbitant profits, not less than fifty per cent. on merchandise purchased at their own doors, while for the goods which had been brought from such a distance, they would scarcely

allow enough to pay the freight. We cannot, however, forbear taking some exceptions to the mode in which our countrymen, according to their own report, conducted their transactions. The native merchants very reasonably wished to take commodities suited to their trade, and for which they could find a demand; but the English, having burdened themselves with other articles, particularly a large stock of lead, which proved exceedingly unsaleable in this market, insisted on forcing these upon the reluctant purchasers. At length the Indians, seeing they could do no better, agreed to take the lead along with the other goods; but, after these had been landed, Sir Henry learned that Khojah Nassan was expressing the utmost discontent at the assortment thus obtruded on him, raving like a madman, and even countermanding the waggons which were to carry away the obnoxious article. It was added that, according to the custom of the country, any bargain could be annulled, on notice to that effect given within twenty-four hours. To avert this peril, Middleton had recourse to a step, the expediency of which appears exceedingly questionable. The governor and several other leading persons happening to be on board his vessel, he placed them under arrest, to be liberated only when the transactions should be closed by the delivery of the Indian goods. The option, however, was given to the merchant to relieve the governor by coming and supplying his place,—a proposal to which, with many wry faces, he at last consented. By this step the English gained, indeed, their immediate object; yet it probably contributed, in no small degree, to the resolution which was soon afterwards made known to them that they must forthwith depart

from Surat without establishing a factory, or even collecting their debts. This inhospitable proceeding was imputed to the intrigues of the Portuguese and Jesuits; but, whether it were so or not, Sir Henry was obliged to depart with a very unsatisfactory cargo, and no favourable prospect as to the future reception of his countrymen.

From Surat he sailed along the coast, and touched at Dabul, where he was at first very heartily welcomed, but soon found or suspected that the governor secretly counteracted all his measures, so that he could obtain no advantageous arrangement. He returned to the Red Sea, and extorted from the citizens of Mocha farther compensation for the wrongs he had formerly suffered there. He moreover stopped every Indian vessel he met, and obliged her to agree to an exchange of goods, the conditions of which he himself dictated,—a course which he justifies on grounds that seem rather untenable. He next sailed across the Indian Ocean for Bantam; but in the course of the voyage the Trade's Increase struck upon a rock, and sustained considerable damage. While it was under repair he sent forward Downton to England in the Peppercorn, intending himself to follow; but he was seized with a violent illness, and died at Bantam.

In 1611, the Company sent out the Globe, under Captain Hippon, to endeavour to open a trade on the Coromandel coast. Floris, a Dutchman, accompanied him as factor. They departed in January, and in the end of July doubled the Point de Galle in Ceylon, whence they ran along the coast to Negapatan. Without stopping there, they proceeded to Puliacate, where they hoped to traffic with some ad-

vantage. The day after their arrival, however, Van Wersicke, president of the Dutch settlements on this coast, waited upon them, and gave notice that his countrymen had obtained a *kaul* from the King of Narsinga, in whose territory that city stood, prohibiting all Europeans from trading, unless under patent from Prince Maurice. The captain replied that he held the patent of the King of England, which he deemed quite sufficient; and high words arose. But the Shah Bandur, or governor, persuaded them to suspend the dispute till the expected arrival of the Princess Konda Maa, who held the government of the city. Her royal highness came; but when Hippon applied for an audience, she returned for answer that she was not then at leisure, promising, however, to send for him next day. Considering this reply evasive, he went to the minister, and was assured that the Dutch had in fact obtained the exclusive right which they asserted; and he was advised to apply to them for permission to trade. But Hippon calculated that the attempt would employ two months, and besides was almost certain that he would be refused. He proceeded, therefore, to Petapoli, where he left a small factory, and then to Masulipatan, the great market for the beautiful fabrics produced upon this coast. The governor there readily entered into treaty, but pursued, at the same time, a complete system of fraud and chicanery. He told the most palpable lies, insisting that he, as a Mir, or descendant of Mohammed, was to be believed before Christians. The English had determined upon "foul means" to obtain redress; but, through some of the merchants, an accommodation was effected. They sailed next to Bantam, and

thence to Patane, where, in June 1612, they landed in great state, with minstrels playing and flags flying, bearing the king's letter in a golden basin on the back of an elephant. This they presented to the queen, who received them graciously, and finally gave the desired permission to erect a warehouse. At Patane Captain Hippon died, when the others proceeded to Siam. Floris, who had visited this part of India four years before, probably in a Dutch vessel, found such a demand for goods as the whole world had appeared to him insufficient to satisfy; but now there had ensued such a glut, as to leave room only for very limited sales. The English afterwards returned to Masulipatan, and met with a better reception, but without being able to carry their transactions to any great extent.

In 1611, the Company sent out a much larger expedition, of three ships,—the Clove, Hector, and Thomas,—under Captain John Saris. This was an active and adventurous voyage, but does not come within our immediate sphere; the vessels not having touched at any part of the continent of India. Saris sailed first to the Red Sea, where he met Sir Henry Middleton on his second visit there; and the parties for some time acted in concert both for trade and piracy. In August 1612, he steered for Bantam, still considered as the chief English factory in the East, where he arrived in the end of October, but learned that the number of vessels belonging to different expeditions, assembled and expected, had caused a very inconvenient rise in the price of cloves, pepper, and the other staple commodities. He sailed, therefore, to the Moluccas, which were found to have been cruelly desolated by civ

wars between the native princes, as well as by the contests for pre-eminence between the Dutch and Portuguese, supported by the Spaniards from the Philippines. The Hollanders had now nearly expelled the other nations, and were using their utmost efforts, by threats and misrepresentations, to deter the native princes from holding any intercourse with the English. Saris, however, by his activity and address, contrived to collect a good cargo of cloves. He then sailed for Firando, in Japan, in the hope of opening a communication with that celebrated empire, where the violent jealousy and rigid exclusion of Europeans, which has been since so strictly enforced, did not yet prevail. Being waited on by the governor, who is here called king, they made arrangements for visiting the emperor at Surunga, where they met with a good reception, and entertained hopes of establishing a profitable factory at Firando; which, however, proved ultimately fallacious.

The Company had now sent eight expeditions, the result of which was judged on the whole to be extremely prosperous. Leaving out of the account the unfortunate voyage of Sharpey, they had derived an average profit of not less than 171 per cent. Mr Mill hence draws the natural inference, that these had been conducted in a manner decidedly more judicious than subsequent adventures that yielded a very different return. Yet we cannot forbear observing, that many of the cargoes were made up on such very easy terms, as their successors could not expect to command. Independently of the fact that whole fleets were sometimes laden by simple capture, trade was often carried on by com-

pulsory means, calculated to ensure a profitable return only to the stronger party. These first voyages, in short, exhibit the profits of trade combined with the produce of piracy.

The commerce of India, according to the original plan, was to be conducted on the principle of a joint-stock company, in which the transactions were to be managed by a governor and directors, and a dividend made to the subscribers in proportion to the number of shares. But as the paying up of the instalments upon this principle proceeded very slowly, another arrangement was made, by which each individual furnished a certain proportion of the outlay, and received the entire profit arising from its disposal. Though the affairs of the Company prospered under this system, it was necessarily attended with a good deal of confusion and difficulty, which suggested to the governor and Company the expediency of returning to the old method of conducting affairs on the regular joint-stock system. This plan was accordingly adopted in 1612, and on those terms a capital of £429,000 was subscribed, with which the directors undertook, during the next four years, to build twenty-nine vessels, at an expense of £272,000, and to employ the rest of the sum in the investment.

The commerce of India being considered more and more a national object, King James, in 1614, sent out Sir Thomas Roe as ambassador to the Great Mogul, with the view of obtaining permission to trade on reasonable terms in the principal ports of his dominions. The details of this embassy, which remarkably illustrate the manners and arrangements of the Mogul court, will be introduced in

our account of that dynasty. The result could not be considered as a total failure; yet the influence exercised against the English by the Portuguese and native merchants was so powerful,—the views of this splendid but barbarous court were so vacillating and capricious,—that, though Sir Thomas did at last extract a species of firman in favour of his countrymen, he could give them little encouragement to place any reliance upon it; assuring them that their actual success must ever depend mainly upon arrangements with the local merchants and magistrates.

A regular annual intercourse being now formed with India, and all the naval routes to that region fully explored, the particular voyages cease to possess much interest, and have been, therefore, seldom recorded. The situation of the English was sometimes rendered critical by the rivalry of the other European powers who had formed a prior establishment, and continued as long as possible to view and treat them as interlopers. The Portuguese from the first manifested the most lofty pretensions and embittered feelings; but their naval power had now become so feeble in comparison with the fleets of England, that they scarcely ever encountered her vessels without signal defeat.

It was much otherwise with the Dutch, whose extensive marine rendered their hostility truly formidable. They had now completely driven the Portuguese from the Molucca and Banda Islands, which they claimed in complete sovereignty. The English did not attempt to interfere with the Hollanders in those settlements, where the right of prior occupation could be urged; but the small islands of Pularoon

and Rosengin, forming part indeed of a group occupied by that people, though containing no actual settlement, were considered as open territory, and forts were erected on them. This seems sufficiently conformable to Indian practice, where the factories of different nations are often found in the closest contiguity. The Dutch, however, chose to understand it otherwise; and, after having in vain endeavoured to expel their rivals from these forts, seized two of their vessels, announcing their determination not to release them till England should have withdrawn her obnoxious pretensions to the trade of the Spice Islands. The demand was strenuously resisted, and hostilities ensued, which were attended with disastrous consequences to both nations, and particularly to the English. Pring, when he was on the coast of Coromandel in 1619, heard the doleful tale that four ships, the Dragon, Bear, Expedition, and Rose, were captured off the Isles of Tecoo; that the Star was taken in the Straits of Sunda, and that two other vessels were in great peril. The Companies now presented heavy complaints against each other to their respective governments; negotiations were opened, and in order to prevent these partial hostilities from extending into a general war, a treaty was patched up of a very singular complexion. The English and Dutch agreed to become, as it were, copartners in the Indian traffic; the former to have half the trade in pepper, and a third of that in the finer spices; the nations each to keep ten ships in common for the purpose of protection, and for conveying goods from one port of India to another. There was also to be formed a "Council of Defence," consisting of four members of each Company, who were to be intrusted

with the enforcement and execution of the provisions of this extraordinary treaty.

It was obvious that these stipulations were of such a nature, and involved so constant an interference in private transactions, as could not fail to lead to the most serious differences. The Dutch, who maintained larger fleets among the islands, interpreted every question in their own favour, and refused to admit the English to their stipulated share of the trade, till the payment of their proportion of all the sums which they themselves, with or without necessity, had expended on fortifications. The enmity between the two nations became always more rancorous, till the Dutch, availing themselves of superior strength, proceeded to that dreadful outrage called the "Massacre of Amboyna." The island of that name is well known as the largest of the group of the Moluccas, and the one which affords the most copious supply of cloves. The principal settlement of both nations was at the capital, where the Dutch had a strong castle with a garrison of about two hundred men; while the English, eighteen in number, occupied merely a house in the town, where, however, they thought themselves in safety under the faith of treaties. The Dutch, conceiving suspicions of a Japanese soldier who was in their service, arrested and put him to the torture. By that barbarous mode of extracting evidence, they brought him to confess that he and several of his countrymen had entered into a conspiracy to seize the fortress; and upon the information thus obtained, several other Japanese were apprehended and tortured. The English, while this transaction was going on, went back and forward to the

castle as business led them, inquiring about it as an ordinary affair, in no shape affecting themselves. Abel Price, the surgeon, however, having been confined in the castle on account of some excesses committed through intoxication, was one morning assured that his countrymen also were engaged in this nefarious plot. Price professed utter ignorance on the subject; but the torture was applied to him with such severity as made him soon confess whatever his tormentors were pleased to direct. At the same time a message was sent to Captain Towerson, and the other members of the English factory, requesting that they would visit the governor. On their arrival, they were much surprised at being arrested, all their property seized, and themselves called upon to acknowledge their share in the alleged conspiracy. Having made the most solemn denial, they underwent separate and successive examinations, enforced by the most cruel torture, their cries being heard by their companions without, even at a great distance. The agonies of the rack at length extorted their assent to every thing which their accusers chose to suggest. The confessions appear evidently to have been given in a manner which rendered it quite manifest that they were wrung from the unhappy victims by the extremity of suffering. On being released, they resumed the most solemn denials; two, in particular, being adjured by Captain Towerson, retracted altogether the testimony they had borne against him. They were impelled only by the repeated application of torture to return to their accusation of themselves and of him. One desired to be told at once what it was he was required to own; but this was treated as contumacy; torture was again applied,

till he invented such a story as was likely to satisfy his tormentors. In general, however, leading questions were put, intimating the charges made against the sufferer; and the Dutch contented themselves with his passive admission. The issue was, that Captain Towerson and nine others were condemned to die, the remaining eight being pardoned. They were allowed to see each other, and had the sacrament administered by the Dutch clergyman, when they declared in the most solemn manner their perfect innocence. Samuel Colson said aloud:—"O Lord, as I am innocent of this treason, do thou pardon all my other sins; and, if in the smallest degree guilty thereof, may I never be a partaker of the joys of thy heavenly kingdom." The rest answered, "Amen! amen!" They then earnestly asked and cordially received forgiveness from each other for their mutual false accusations,—John Clark saying, "How shall I look to be forgiven of God if I do not forgive you." They were then executed by having their heads cut off with a scimitar. A black pall was provided for Captain Towerson, the expense of which the Dutch had the effrontery to charge on the English Company. One Portuguese, and nine natives of Japan, who suffered at the same time, made equally solemn protestations of innocence.

The indignation of the English people, always easily roused, never mounted to a higher pitch than when tidings arrived of this cruel and bloody transaction. The nation was in a ferment, and a universal cry rose for redress and vengeance. The Court of Directors prepared and distributed a picture, in which the tortures of the unhappy sufferers

were represented with every feature of aggravation. The press was actively employed in inflaming still farther the indignation of the people, and the excitement was such that the Dutch residents made an application to the Privy Council for the protection of their persons. Mr Mill, always studious to guard against national partiality, is willing to suppose that this subject has been viewed by Englishmen through a somewhat exaggerating medium. Reluctant to believe the Dutch positively actuated by the spirit of demons, he thinks it more probable that, biassed and embittered by the violent opposition of interests, they may have believed their rivals really guilty, have rashly brought them to trial, decided with minds too much blinded to discern the truth, and then put them to death without remorse. The torture, however unjustifiable, was still employed in Holland and other European kingdoms as an instrument in extorting evidence. Both nations, he observes, in those distant seas, where they were beyond the reach of regular government and legal restraint, were guilty of many cruel and violent actions. Admitting to a certain extent the force of these observations, it seems yet impossible to find a parallel to this transaction in point of deliberate and cold-blooded ferocity.

The Dutch, on being called upon for satisfaction, returned at first very evasive answers; but when the English began to detain their vessels, they found the matter assuming a more serious aspect, and authorized an investigation. The negotiations were very long protracted, and no final adjustment took place till 1654, during the government of Cromwell, when eight commissioners, four on each

side, awarded a compensation of £3615 to the heirs and executors of those who had suffered. At the same time, each party brought forward a statement of the amount of injury alleged to have been sustained from the other during the forty years which elapsed from the time they began their abortive attempt at a joint trade, down to 1652. The English raised their estimate to no less than £2,695,999; while the Dutch fixed theirs at the still more enormous amount of £2,919,861. These excessively-exaggerated demands were cut down by the commissioners, who in the end awarded the sum of £85,000 to be paid by the Dutch to the English.

The catastrophe of Amboyna broke up entirely that system of joint trade, which indeed from the first might easily have been foreseen to be impracticable. Yet the English maintained for some time longer their settlement at Bantam, which they had even made the capital of their eastern possessions. But the greater force maintained by the Dutch in those islands, and which they always increased, rendered the tenure by which their rivals held a footing there difficult and precarious; and the greater attractions presented on the continent of India induced them gradually to relinquish their insular stations, with the exception of a few on the coast of Sumatra.

Considerable expectations were at one time entertained from an establishment on the Persian Gulf. An English naval force, as formerly mentioned, co-operating with the army of the Shah of Persia, drove the Portuguese in 1622 from their once opulent settlement at Ormuz, which has since sunk into total insignificance. Our countrymen, in return for

their services, received not only a share of the booty, but liberty to establish a factory at the fort of Gombroon, the transactions at which appeared at first to wear a promising aspect.

Surat for a considerable time was the principal seat of British settlement in India, and annual investments to a large amount were sent to the factory in that city. Being exposed, however, to the arbitrary exactions of the Mogul and his officers, and also to the incessant incursions of the Mahrattas, they felt it very desirable to obtain some place entirely their own, and which they could fortify against external aggression. An opportunity was offered in 1662, on occasion of the marriage of the Infanta Catherine to Charles II., when the Island of Bombay was ceded as part of her dowry. Some misunderstanding arose as to the extent of this grant, the English conceiving it to include Salsette and other dependencies; while the Portuguese chose to view it as not extending beyond the bare precincts of the island,—in which last interpretation Britain was finally obliged to acquiesce. Thus the crown acquired for the first time a territorial possession in India; which, however, did not yield revenue sufficient to defray its expenses. In 1668, therefore, the government made over the entire sovereignty to the Company, who, in 1687, transferred thither from Surat the presidency over their other settlements; and Bombay has ever since continued the capital of their dominions in Western India.

Meantime, the establishments on the eastern coast were gradually rising into their present importance. For some time, the Coromandel stations were considered secondary, shifted from place to

place, and held subordinate to Bantam. In the voyage of Hippon we have traced the first foundation of the important settlements of Masulipatan and Pulicate; but the latter was soon relinquished, in consequence of Dutch rivalry. To escape the hostility of that people, and the oppressions of the native government, the English, in 1625, procured a spot of ground at Armegum, a little south of Nellore, where they stationed a factory. This place, however, as an emporium of the fine cotton manufactures, which gave value to the trade on that coast, was not found equal to Masulipatan; and accordingly the factory there was soon revived. Valuable privileges in its favour were obtained from the King of Golconda; while the Mogul emperor sanctioned an establishment at Pipley in Orissa. It being still considered important to have a place of strength for the security of the Company's trade, permission was obtained, in 1640, from a native chief to erect a fort at Madraspatan. The Directors, actuated by a spirit of economy which has not always ruled their counsels, objected to this erection, and limited very strictly the sums to be expended on it. However, they called it Fort St George, and made it afterwards the capital of their settlements on the coast of Coromandel.

The establishment in Bengal, which has since risen to such unrivalled prosperity, was formed somewhat later than any of the others. An English medical gentleman of the name of Boughton, resident at Surat, having visited Agra in 1651, was fortunate enough to remove a dangerous illness which had affected the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan. The gratitude felt by the monarch

was employed by Boughton, with a laudable patriotism, in obtaining for his countrymen very ample commercial privileges. From Agra he proceeded to the court of the Nabob of Bengal, where his skill, exerted with equal success, was rewarded by a grant to the English of very extensive local advantages and immunities. The merchants of Surat, on payment of 3000 rupees, obtained full freedom of trade, exempt from customs; and in 1656 they erected a factory at Hoogley, situated on that branch of the river which has always been considered the principal channel for the trade of the Ganges. From this time ships and investments were sent to Bengal every year. Several other factories were formed there; but its commerce was still considered secondary to that of Coromandel, and made subject to the presidency of Fort St George.

It was in Bengal, however, that the English first attempted to establish political and military power. The factors of the Company transmitted a detail of various wrongs sustained from the native rulers, and suggested the expediency of seeking redress by force of arms. The Directors sent out, in 1686, Captain Nicholson, with ten armed vessels, and six companies of soldiers, destined to a service of no less magnitude than that of levying war against the Great Mogul and the Nabob of Bengal. The plan of the campaign was in the first instance to seize and fortify Chittagong, a point rather remote from the scene of commercial activity, but which they meant to make the centre of their military movements. Hence they were not fortunate in the execution of this grand scheme. The different parts of the armament arrived separately, and acted with little

concert. The fleet sailed up to Hoogley, and commenced a cannonade, but was completely repulsed, and obliged to seek shelter in a port which occupied the present site of Calcutta. Factories, that had been formed at Patna and Cossimbuzar, were taken and plundered. The nabob, after a deceitful truce, assembled his whole army to attack the discomfited English, who at that crisis, however, under the command of the Company's agent, made a brilliant display of valour. They not only beat off completely the Mogul forces, but entered the harbour of Balasore, and burnt forty sail of Indian ships. An accommodation was then agreed to, by which they were allowed to re-establish their factory at Hoogley; and affairs were on the point of being replaced on their former footing, when two British ships of war, under an officer of the name of Heath, entered the river. That commander immediately broke up the treaty, and commenced warlike operations, which he conducted very unfortunately; and the invaders were finally obliged to evacuate Bengal. Aurengzebe, at that time seated on the Mogul throne, was so exasperated at these proceedings, and other violent steps taken by Sir John Child, governor of Bombay, that he ordered a general attack on the Company's factories. Those at Surat, Masulipatan, and Vizigapatan, were reduced, the last not without some bloodshed; and Bombay was very closely pressed. Our countrymen were compelled to have recourse to the most humble submission; when that politic sovereign, weighing the benefit which his people derived from foreign commerce, gradually relaxed, and allowed the traffic to resume its usual channels.

From this time, however, the Company began openly to aspire to permanent civil authority in the East. In 1689, as Mr Mill observes, "it was laid down as a determinate object of policy, that independence was to be established in India, and dominion acquired." At that date they wrote to their agents,—"The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade." Henceforth, then, the English may be considered as having commenced their system of political ascendency in that part of Asia; but before following them through the various steps of this arduous undertaking, it will be advantageous to turn back and take a survey of the rise and fortunes of that great empire, whose place they were destined to occupy.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *Early Mohammedan Conquests in India.*

Rise of the Mohammedan Power—Conquests in Central Asia—The Samanian Dynasty—Abistagi—Subuktagi—Mahmoud the Ghiznevide—His Twelve Expeditions into India—Victory in Lahore—Successive Conquests of Bimé; Tanassar; Kanouge; Muttra; Sumnaut—His Death—Character—Anecdotes—Literature of the Court of Ghizni—Ferdusi—Oonsuri—Abu Rihan—Decline of the Ghiznian House—Subverted by that of Ghori—Mohammed Ghori—His Conquests in India—Cuttub conquers Delhi and makes it his Capital.

THE Arabs or Saracens, in spreading by their arms the faith of Mohammed, effected a most astonishing revolution in the eastern world. They penetrated to more remote parts of Asia than were ever reached by the Roman eagle. After the death of their prophet, a short interval only had elapsed, when their victorious cavalry drank at once the waters of the Tagus, the Niger, and the Jaxartes. Bagdad became the capital of the greatest empire then on the face of the earth; its court was the most splendid and the most polished, and the seat of all the learning by which that dark age was illumined.

No region derived such advantages from this triumph of the Moslem arms and faith as the country called Mavar-ul-Nahar, being that extensive tract of Independent Tartary which is watered by the great rivers Oxus and Jaxartes. Though blessed

with a fertile soil, and one of the finest climates of Asia, it is represented in all the ancient records as entirely Scythian, covered with roaming hordes of shepherds and warriors, who lived in tents, and subsisted on the milk of their flocks. Under the Arab sway, it acquired and has ever since retained regular government, cultivated plains, large and populous cities. Yet this province was one of the first which were severed from the Caliphate. Its governors, distant from the seat of empire, began gradually to assume the character of independent princes; they extended their power first over Khorassan, then over the interior provinces of Persia; and finally hemmed in Bagdad itself more and more closely, till the name of Caliph, which had caused the extremities of the earth to tremble, became little more than an empty sound.

It was in the year 873, the 263d of the Hegira, that Ismael Samani of Bochara assumed the title of king; and his posterity in the family of Samania reigned for nearly a hundred years over those vast regions, with a high reputation for justice and beneficence. At length his house felt that decline to which despotic power in all cases is ultimately liable. Its weakness was further increased by a disputed succession; while Abistagi, governor of the vast semi-Tartar province of Khorassan, successfully raised the standard of insurrection. Having become an independent sovereign, he added to his domain the high mountain-territory of Cabul and Candahar. This region, situated on the crest, or in the declivities and deep valleys of the Indian Caucasus and of its numerous tributary branches, is inhabited by the Afghans a race of hardy husbandmen, shepherds,

and warriors, who have often extended the authority of their princes over the surrounding countries. Here Abistagi selected Ghizni as the capital of an empire which long ruled over Asia.

In the year 977 he was succeeded, not by his son, who died young, but by Subuktagi his general, who had been saluted sovereign by the voice of the troops. This prince consolidated the new kingdom, and became the real founder of a mighty dynasty. He bears a high reputation for probity, simplicity, and mildness. The Orientals fondly relate a little incident that at least expresses their ideas respecting his temper, and forms a pleasing contrast with the hardihood of his character and the rough scenes in which he acted. Hunting one day in the forest, he espied a fawn with its mother, bounding over the plain. He caught the animal, tied its feet, and threw it over his saddle; but on looking back, he beheld the mother following with so piteous an aspect that his soul was melted. He released the fawn, and allowed it to rejoin its parent, who, as she turned into the wilderness, looked back with eyes streaming tears of gratitude. Subuktagi's pleasing reflections upon this scene, and his own share in it, suggested at night a dream or vision, where, in reward for his humanity, a kingdom was promised to him. As a proof of his simplicity of taste, we are told that, on being introduced to a splendid pavilion erected by his son Mahmoud, he told the prince that this object was to be despised as a perishing bauble, and that he ought to make it his study to obtain a good name, which would last for ever.

This youth, after a short usurpation by his brother

Ishmael, whom, after vanquishing, he merely imprisoned for life, succeeded in the year 997 to Subuktagi, and proved one of the greatest princes that ever ruled in Asia. Being attacked by the Emperor of Bochara, he felt or professed peculiar reluctance to engage in war with the representative of the venerated dynasty of Samania; but his scruples were overcome when that prince was murdered, and his throne usurped by two of his generals. Mahmoud then joined the King of the Uzbecks in extinguishing the empire of Bochara; and the fine territory of Mavar-ul-Nahar was added to his dominion, which then comprehended all Asia from the Caspian to the Indus.

There is not a more chequered fame in oriental history than that of Mahmoud. His justice has been so much celebrated that, according to eastern writers, the wolf and the lamb in his reign drank at the same fountain; yet instances are not wanting in which his conduct appears marked by the grossest iniquity and extortion. His piety is as much celebrated, yet equally problematical. According to Ferishta, he was in early life prone to scepticism. His mind was agitated with doubt on two very different points,—whether there was a future world, and whether he was the son of Subuktagi; for the general deportment of his mother, it seems, left this last question open to controversy. A vision appeared to him, when the Prophet in person removed both these subjects of inquietude; and the emperor then commenced a high religious profession. His zeal, however, brought such an accession of power and wealth, as made it be doubted whether his devotions to heaven were not chiefly

valued as they tended to make him lord of the earth. His fervour was especially inflamed by reports of the boundless wealth accumulated in the holy shrines of Indostan, and his conscience incessantly reproached him, till these profane treasures were transported to adorn the palaces of Ghizni.

The rise of the Mohammedan power was an eventful occurrence to India, over which its princes were destined to rule for ages; yet their dominion had endured four centuries without finding its way into that extensive region. The case was necessarily altered, when so formidable a kingdom was erected on its mountain-frontier. Subuktagi had already made two expeditions into Moultan and Lahore, in which he was successful, having in both completely defeated Jeipal, prince of the latter country. He annexed to Ghizni the fine province of Peshawer, and extended his authority to the Indus. Mahmoud, who, in these expeditions, had given early proofs of personal bravery, made India the grand theatre of his military talent and ambition, from which he was diverted only by some insurrections in his more distant provinces, and by occasional alarms of Tartar invasion. Historians record twelve expeditions into India by this great potentate, from all of which he returned triumphant, and laden with booty.

In the first he merely crossed the Indus; but the second was against Jeipal of Lahore, who had again reared the standard of independence. This country, in which mountains and deserts are intermingled with tracts of luxuriant fertility, has, from the days of Alexander to the present, nurtured a warlike people, who have formed a bulwark against western invasion. Jeipal had mustered another

formidable army, but was vanquished and made prisoner; his neck, as well as those of fifteen chiefs, being encircled with jewels of immense value. This unfortunate prince, after being twice a captive, considered his honour as irretrievably tarnished: for which reason, and actuated by the barbarous pride of his countrymen, he prepared a funeral-pile, and threw himself into the flames. Annindpal, his son, acknowledged his kingdom tributary to Ghizni.

The three next expeditions of Mahmoud were made with the view of collecting tribute and suppressing partial rebellions. The fifth, in 1009, commenced by an attack on the part of Annindpal. Having formed alliances with all the great kings of the interior,—Delhi, Kanouge, Ougein, Gwalior, Callinger, and Ajmere,—he assembled the greatest army that had been seen in this region for hundreds of years. They crossed the Indus, and entered the Plains of Peshawer, where the Moslems, afraid to encounter in the open field an enemy so immensely superior, began to intrench their forces. The two armies remained for forty days in presence of each other, when at length the attack was begun on the side of the natives by the Gickers or Gwickwars, an almost savage race inhabiting the high mountainous tracts north of Lahore. Their arrows did considerable execution; yet the main body were unable to make any impression on the brave and strongly-intrenched army of Mahmoud. Many fell on the part of the assailants, when at length the elephant on which the Prince of Lahore rode, frightened by a fire-ball, ran off, and carried his master out of the battle. At that moment the troops, thinking themselves deserted by their commander, were

struck with panic; and the whole of that mighty host fled in complete and irretrievable confusion. An alarm so sudden and so slightly raised, may lead us to conclude that, instead of hardy and veteran warriors, Mahmoud had encountered only an effeminate and tumultuary militia, like that which Xerxes led into Greece. Twenty thousand were slain in the pursuit; and numerous elephants laden with treasure were captured. The conqueror, finding no longer an army to oppose him, marched directly upon the fort of Bimé, or Bheemghur, considered almost impregnable, and which had therefore been made the general depository for all the sacred wealth of the surrounding temples. The Indian princes having marched forward with a full assurance of victory, and without ever dreading attack, had withdrawn the garrison to reinforce their army, leaving only priests to guard the shrine and treasures. These defenders soon opened the gates and fell flat on their faces before the victorious prince. The gold, silver, and precious stones found in Bimé are declared by Ferishta to have exceeded all similar possessions of any other prince on earth; yet Major Price's authorities, and even his own as carefully analyzed by Colonel Briggs, fix the amount at little more than £300,000 in specie, with perhaps a somewhat larger value in diamonds and other jewels. These acquisitions, on Mahmoud's return, were displayed for several days to the admiring gaze of the Ghizni mountaineers; and the exhibition was closed by liberal donations to the poor and the ministers of religion.

The sovereigns of India, by this abortive expedition, had revealed to Mahmoud the fatal secret of

their weakness and the valuable treasures which their kingdoms contained,—lessons by which he was not slow to profit. He had obtained intelligence respecting Tanassar, a shrine of peculiar opulence and sanctity, situated near the theatre of the great war recorded in the Mahabarat. As he passed on his way the territories of Lahore, Annindpal addressed an earnest supplication that he would remain content with having swept away at Bimé the riches of so many temples, and would spare this peculiar object of Hindoo veneration; but Mahmoud announced his firm purpose to root out from India every form and seat of idolatry. He reached the place before it could receive even the feeble aid of the King of Delhi, and became possessed, without resistance, of the accumulated treasure of ages. All the idols were broken in pieces and thrown on the highway, except one of stupendous dimensions, called Jug Soom, which was carried to Ghizni and reduced to fragments. The conqueror took possession of Delhi, and even formed the design of annexing this fine region to his dominions; but on farther reflection he considered it impossible, so long as the brave and well-defended province of Lahore intervened, that a regular communication could be maintained between that capital and Ghizni. To subdue Annindpal would therefore have been a requisite preliminary; but that prince acted with such prudence, and so carefully avoided all occasion of offence, that Mahmoud found neither pretext nor temptation to renew the war. He never, therefore, attempted to conquer India; he merely pounced, from time to time, like an eagle, from his tremendous eyry amid the snows of Caucasus, snatched his prey, and flew back to his mountain-domain.

This prince spent a summer in conquering the beautiful Valley of Cashmere, the possession of which opened to him a way into interior India, without the reluctant consent of the Prince of Lahore. In the year 1017, he assembled all his troops from the Tartar provinces, and at the head of a hundred thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, marched along the sources of the great rivers against Kanouge, the proudest of all the Indian capitals. The oriental writers represent, in the most magnificent terms, its pomp and greatness. The towers are described as having reached the skies; while the city is said at one time to have contained 30,000 shops for the sale of betel, and 60,000 performers on musical instruments. A state thus dissolved in ease and luxury was ill-prepared to encounter the hardy bands who poured down from Afghanistan. The king did not even attempt it; he advanced and tendered his submission to the invader. Kanouge was consequently treated with lenity, and the conqueror remained only three days. After reducing several other places, he received intelligence of a city which afforded the means of gratifying to the utmost his rapacious piety. Muttra or Mathura, sacred to Krishna, contained shrines eclipsing all others even in this most wealthy region. The Mohammedan prince entered it with little opposition, and found its temples the most splendid he had yet seen, filled with gigantic idols of pure gold, having eyes of rubies; in one was stuck a sapphire of extraordinary magnitude. The conqueror lost no time in decomposing these rich objects of pagan homage, and, having reduced them to their constituent elements of gold and jewels, loaded with them

a long train of camels. He is said to have once formed the design of demolishing the temples; but being dazzled with their beauty, he desisted, and left that task to the bigoted zeal of Aurengzebe. The reduction of some other cities was attended with hard fighting and comparatively little spoil. He marched by way of Lahore to Ghizni, and made a display of booty eclipsing even that brought from the plunder of Tanassar. It has been estimated at half a million in specie, with jewels and pearls beyond all calculation; to which were added fifty-three thousand captives, whose price, however, was so much reduced by this immense supply, that they scarcely brought five shillings a-head. The wealth obtained by the private chiefs and soldiers was supposed to equal that of the sovereign.

Ghizni hitherto, notwithstanding the riches conveyed to it, had been little more in itself than an encampment of migratory shepherds; but Mahmoud, smitten with the magnificence of Kanouge and Mathura, determined now to erect edifices which might render his capital an object of admiration to the world. A mosque was built of granite and marble, on which the richest materials were profusely lavished, and new ornaments continually added, till it became celebrated over Asia under the title of the "Celestial Bride." The nobles, imitating the taste of their sovereign, vied with each other in the erection of costly structures, till Ghizni acquired a magnificence surpassing that of the greatest capitals of India.

Meantime Mahmoud received the mortifying intelligence that the submission and alliance of the King of Kanouge had proved fatal to that prince.

Indignant at his desertion of the cause of India, Nunda, king of Callinger, seconded by the neighbouring monarchs, commenced a furious war, which ended in his defeat and death, and the surrender of his capital. The Ghiznian ruler made all the despatch which his distance admitted. After forcing the passage of the Jumna, he advanced and found the victor strongly intrenched, and apparently waiting his attack; but, after due consideration, the Indian prince retreated, leaving the country to be laid waste by the invader. The kingdom and city of Kanouge, however, were never destined to regain their ancient splendour.

Lahore, though so closely contiguous to the Ghiznian territory, had continued independent during thirty years of the conqueror's reign; but on the death of Annindpal, the king determined upon a vigorous effort to obtain possession of this important key of India. Assembling an immense force, he marched upon the capital; when the young prince, unable to face so great an armament, abandoned the city and neighbouring territory, and sought refuge in Ajmere. Lahore was thus attached to the Ghiznian monarchy.

After some minor inroads, Mahmoud, in the year 1024, undertook his last and greatest expedition into India. His arms were then turned somewhat in a new direction. In the province of Guzerat, on the shore of the Indian Ocean, stood Sumnaut, a shrine higher and holier than any yet devoted to spoliation. Two thousand villages were assigned for its support, besides presents poured in from all the surrounding regions. Sumnaut himself was esteemed the general judge of the dead, and his statue of pure

gold was washed every morning with water brought from the Ganges, a thousand miles distant. The attendants consisted of two thousand Brahmins, five hundred dancing-girls, three hundred musicians, and three hundred barbers. The king was farther incited by learning that the priests of Sumnaut considered themselves secure from his utmost power. According to them, the sins of Delhi and Kanouge had been the sole cause of the downfal of those cities; while they themselves, high in purity and sanctity, might bid defiance to the impious fury of the Moslem invader. Eager to undeceive them, this monarch, having mustered his troops, led them into Moultan; employing twenty thousand camels to convey provisions across the great western desert. The city of Ajmere was found abandoned, and its fort too strong to be attacked. Nahrwalla, capital of Guzerat, had been left in the same state. After passing another desert, the Ghiznevide sovereign came in view of Sumnaut, a lofty castle on a peninsula completely enclosed by the sea,—except at one point, which was defended by strong walls, on whose battlements stood an innumerable multitude of combatants. They announced by a herald that their great god had drawn the Moslems hither, in order that the destruction of so many divinities, who had fallen under their axe, might now be avenged. The invaders, however, advanced with a despatch which amazed the Hindoos, and caused them to fall down in tears before their idol; though, on seeing the scaling-ladders applied, they drew strength from despair, and rushed forward to the defence with the utmost fury. The dreadful contest was prolonged

for a day, at the end of which the assailants, overpowered with fatigue, were obliged to retire. On the following morning the attack was renewed, but with no better success.

On the third day, an immense army was seen advancing to the relief of Sumnaut. Mahmoud instantly led his troops to battle; but, as this quarter of India has always supplied a race of brave and hardy warriors, the contest was severe. Fortune still wavered, when the Indian host was strengthened by a powerful reinforcement under Byram Deo and Dabissalima, two of the principal chiefs of Guzerat. The battle then became more doubtful and truly terrible, and Mahmoud, for the first time on the soil of India, saw himself in danger of being vanquished. He appealed to the religious zeal of his troops; he prostrated himself on the ground, imploring the aid of Heaven in this holy conflict, and earnestly called on his chiefs to advance either to conquest or the crown of martyrdom. He at length gained a complete victory; and the garrison, on seeing the flight of the great army to which they had trusted for deliverance, were seized with panic, and abandoned the place. The conqueror entered, and was led to the temple, a spacious and antique structure, the interior of which consisted of a majestic hall supported by fifty-six columns, and entirely encircled with golden images of Hindoo deities. Sumnaut himself, whose actual dimensions are variously reported, towered gigantic over all. On first beholding this idol, Mahmoud, fired with wrathful zeal, struck off its nose, and gave orders that the whole figure should forthwith be reduced into fragments. As the attendant Brahmins saw the down-

fal of this object of their profoundest veneration, they fell on their knees, and proffered an immense sum to save what remained; and the omrahs advised, even as a matter of prudence, the acceptance of these terms: but the king indignantly rejected the idea of becoming a "seller of idols." The work of demolition proceeded; and, on its reaching the interior of the image, there was disclosed a treasure in pearls, rubies, and diamonds, almost beyond conception, and far surpassing the immense sum tendered for its redemption. The amount is somewhat difficult to ascertain; but it is generally admitted to have greatly exceeded that of any of the former captures.

Mahmoud was so much pleased with Guzerat, that he deliberated whether he should not make it the principal seat of his government, or at least annex it permanently to his dominions; but he became satisfied, that the distance from Ghizni was too great, and the communications too difficult. He attempted, however, to retain a control over this fine country, by raising to the sovereignty a Brahmin of humble birth, indebted to himself for this elevation. But he had not long departed when the people again transferred their allegiance to their ancient race of kings. Some romantic and rather absurd details were reported on this occasion, which we pass by, as they were probably only invented as an excuse to Mahmoud for superseding the sovereign whom he had chosen to impose upon Guzerat.

Mahmoud, while on his return to Ghizni, suffered considerably in passing through the vast deserts; and was greatly annoyed also by the Jits or Jauts, a

tribe inhabiting Moultan, who, by their strong force of war-boats, commanded the navigation of the Indus. The indignant monarch undertook next year an expedition against this people, and having prepared a vast number of small vessels fortified with iron spikes, encountered, and after an obstinate conflict defeated them so completely, that almost the whole nation were slain or taken prisoners.

The following season he was employed in an expedition into Khorassan, on his return from which, in 1030, he was taken ill, and died at the age of 63.

There are few characters in oriental history more mixed and doubtful than that of this great conqueror. By some he is extolled as the model of a perfect prince, while others brand him as a monster of avarice, injustice, and rapacity. There seems to have been in his nature a strange combination of opposite qualities, his best actions being alloyed by a mixture of wild caprice. He carefully discharged many of his duties as a sovereign, and made great exertions to secure the husbandman and merchant against the inroad of the predatory bands who occupied the mountain-fastnesses. He was accessible to complaints from every quarter. A woman from a remote Persian province came to his audience, and complained that her son had been killed and her property carried off by a set of plunderers. The king replied that this was a distant conquest, in which it was impossible for him to prevent some disorders. The woman warmly rejoined, "Why then do you conquer kingdoms which you cannot protect, and for which you will not be able to answer in the day of judgment?" That this rebuke could be addressed to

the king was no small honour to his character, and still more when we find that it roused him to establish order in those distant parts of his dominions. A still more signal act of justice is recorded. A citizen of Ghizni represented that a powerful lord of the court, having become enamoured of his wife, arrived nightly, thrust him out of his own dwelling, and forcibly supplied his place. Mahmoud, with the deepest indignation, desired that information should be given to him the first time that this outrage was repeated. The injured person came three nights after with the expected notice, and Mahmoud, attended by a guard of soldiers, hastened to the house. Having ordered all the lights to be extinguished, he advanced in the dark with a weapon, and, seizing the offender, with one blow severed his head from his body. He then caused a light to be brought, and having seen the victim, fell on his knees and uttered a prayer. Being asked the meaning of all this, he replied that he had extinguished the light lest the guilty person should prove to have been a favourite, the view of whom might have shaken his just resolution; but, on being relieved from this apprehension, he had returned thanks to Heaven.*

The people of Ghizni were thus well secured by Mahmoud against the injustice of their fellow-subjects; but their lot was different in regard to the deeds of extortion and iniquity which were too often committed by himself. Mention is made of

---

* This anecdote is given with considerable variations by the different authorities; the above version (which is that of D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, art. Mahmoud) appears the most probable and consistent.

a wealthy citizen of Nishapour, against whom he chose to make a charge of impiety and heresy. The citizen came to him and said, "O king, I am no idolater nor apostate, but I am possessed of wealth; take it, therefore, but do me not a double injustice, by robbing me of my money and of my good name." The monarch, it is said, unblushingly closed with the proposal, and after having stripped the man of his wealth, gave him a certificate testifying the soundness of his faith.

Religious zeal was not only avowed by Mahmoud, but under a certain shape gave the ruling impulse to all his actions. Yet its exercise, as already observed, was productive of earthly gains so immense, as to involve its purity in some suspicion. Still a religious profession is not always insincere, because it is somewhat alloyed in the mind of him who makes it by a mixture of worldly motives. That the Moslem faith, as the exclusive path to salvation, ought to be propagated by the sword, is one of its fundamental dogmas; and by a monarch whose views of ambition and avarice this tenet so greatly favoured, we cannot wonder that it should have been zealously embraced. Yet one incident, related as having occurred at the end of his mortal career, shows that the vanities of earth still held full possession of his heart. Two days before his death, he caused all his jewels, pearls, and golden ornaments, collected from so many different regions, to be spread out before him, that he might feed his eyes on a display of riches, from which he was about to be separated for ever. We can more easily sympathize with his taking a last review of his troops, including the long array of his elephants, and with

the deep emotion which this spectacle excited in the breast of the dying warrior.

Mahmoud, as soon as the rays of wealth and prosperity began to illumine his throne, stood forth as the distinguished patron of letters and poetry; and Ghizni, under him, became the most literary and classical city of the East. It shone indeed at first by a borrowed light from Bagdad, which, even amid the complete overthrow of its political greatness, still retained an intellectual empire over all the nations speaking Arabic and studying the Koran. Yet the splendour of Mahmoud's court, and the great events of his reign, called forth poetical talents more brilliant than had adorned even the celebrated courts of Haroun and Almamon. Ferdusi, who, in the Shah Nameh, celebrated the exploits of his patron, ranks as the second poetical name in Asia. The materials for the literary history of Ghizni are indeed exceedingly scanty; yet enough transpires to warrant the suspicion, that this great poet, though attracted by the pomp and patronage of a court, shared the evils from which these appear inseparable, and only passed a life of splendid misery. It is related, that having completed his great poem, he sought the due reward, which he estimated at 60,000 *dinars;* but the king, taking advantage of a verbal resemblance, paid only the same number of *dirhems,* not exceeding a tenth of the sum demanded. This was a miserable pun upon which to deprive the greatest genius of the age of the hard-earned fruits of his labour. The indignant poet quitted the court where he had been so unworthily treated, and, retiring to a distance, sent forth various satirical effusions against his former

patron, of which D'Herbelot gives the following specimen :—" The magnificent court of Ghizni is a sea, but a sea without bottom and without shore ; I have fished in it long, but have not found any pearl." Mahmoud, it is said, was mortified, and endeavoured by high offers to induce him to return, but could never prevail with the offended bard.

The presiding star in the literary circles of Ghizni was Oonsuri, equally celebrated as a philosopher and a poet. Mahmoud placed him at the head of the university which he had founded, and gave him such a complete jurisdiction over a circle of four hundred learned men, that no work was to be submitted to the sovereign, which had not been stamped with Oonsuri's approbation. We have not as yet in the West the means of duly estimating the actual merit of this personage; but on considering that with posterity his name stands in such deep eclipse behind that of Ferdusi, above whom he was so highly honoured in life, a doubt must arise, whether his reputation was not partly earned by the arts of a courtier, and the absence of the troublesome pride of elevated genius. One channel to favour seems to have consisted in the permission which was allowed him to share the convivial hours of the sovereign. The Orientals relate an occasion when, to sooth his master's grief for having, the night before, when overcome with wine, cut off the long tresses of his beloved, Oonsuri composed some extemporary verses, which conveyed such delight, that in return his mouth was opened, and three times filled with jewels.

Among the strictly scientific residents at Ghizni, the most eminent was Abu Rihan, sent by Almamon

from Bagdad, where he was venerated almost as the rival of Avicenna. But besides metaphysics and dialectics, he studied and appears to have drawn his chief lustre from attainments in the magical art. Of this, D'Herbelot relates a remarkable instance. One day, Mahmoud sent for him and ordered him to deposite with a third person a statement of the precise manner and place in which the monarch would quit the hall where he then sat. The paper being lodged, the king, instead of going out by one of the numerous doors, caused a breach to be made in the wall, by which he effected his exit;—but how was he humbled and amazed, when, on the paper being examined, there was found a specification of the precise spot through which he penetrated. Hereupon the prince with horror denounced this learned man as a sorcerer, and commanded him to be instantly thrown out of the window. The barbarous sentence was presently executed; but care had been taken to prepare beneath a soft and silken cushion, into which the body of the sage sunk without sustaining any injury. Abu Rihan was then called before the monarch, and required to say, whether by his boasted art he had been able to foresee these events, and the treatment through which he had that day passed? The learned man immediately desired his tablets to be sent for, in which were found regularly predicted the whole of the above singular transactions. This incident does not, it must be owned, inspire a very lofty idea, either of the wisdom or the wit of the imperial court of the Ghiznevide.

Mahmoud, after a short interval, was succeeded by Musaood, who nearly equalled him in bravery and enterprise, but who had to struggle against a series

of adverse fortune. There poured down from the interior regions of Asia one of those great tides of conquest and migration, which have so often changed the face of that continent. It consisted of the Turks or Toorks, under the dynasty called, from Seljuk its founder, Seljukian, which overran Khorassan. Under the successors of the chief just named their empire rose to such a height of power, as to eclipse that of all the other Asiatic kingdoms. Togrul, who subverted the imperial throne of Bagdad, and shook that of Constantinople,—Alp Arslan, who wrote on his tomb at Meru, "Ye who have seen the glory of Alp Arslan exalted to the heavens, come and see it buried under the dust;"—these were warriors with whom even the most gallant of the lineage of Mahmoud sought in vain to contend. They saw wrested from them the fine Plains of Khorassan and Iran, even that of Balkh, and their dominions confined within the mountain-barrier of Caucasus. On the eastern side they still held Lahore, and made some vigorous attempts, but only with partial and temporary success, to extend their sway over the Indian territory.

The house of Ghizni, during two centuries, continued still, though thus reduced by Turkish invasion, to maintain its original boundaries. Family alliances were even formed between Ibrahim I. and Malek Shah, son of Alp Arslan. The downfal of this dynasty arose from an internal cause. Ghori or Ghoor forms a rude mountainous district, situated on the loftiest branch of Caucasus, or Hindoo Coosh, where it borders on Tibet and Turkestan. Its princes, commanding a race of hardy mountaineers, gradually made themselves nearly independent of

the Ghiznian government, and even obtained possessions in Tartary and Khorassan. This excited so strongly the jealousy of Byram, who about 1115 had ascended the throne, that having drawn into his power Mohammed, prince of Ghori, he put him to death. This step he had ample cause to repent. Sief-ul-Dien, brother to the latter, soon mustered a large array of his followers, eager to avenge the loss of their chief. Byram, unable to oppose him, evacuated his capital; yet, having re-assembled his forces, he recovered Ghizni, and took his enemy prisoner. Sief-ul-Dien was then subjected to the most dreadful insult and cruelty; mounted on a bullock he was led through Ghizni, amid the derision of the mob;—then tortured and beheaded, and his vizier impaled alive. This barbarity on the part of a prince otherwise mild and respectable, set the seal to the fate of his house. Allah, brother to the sufferer, soon summoned round him all the warriors of the tribe of Ghori to avenge their wrongs. Byram marched to meet him; and the superior numbers of his troops enabled them to maintain a vigorous struggle against the rude strength and courage of the mountain-chiefs. But at length he yielded, and fled with his scattered army towards Indostan, where he soon after died of grief. The victor, in 1152, marched upon Ghizni, and according to the too common course of eastern conquerors, sought to surpass the cruelty which he came to punish. That magnificent city was given up to a general pillage, and to the sword of the enraged Ghorians. In seven days it was no more. Its palaces, so profusely embellished with the spoils of conquered India, were razed to the ground. A few

tombs, spared by eastern piety, stood alone amid this wild and mountain-solitude. It revived indeed, and became for a short time the capital of the Ghori dynasty; but it again sunk, and now only a few scattered ruins, with the spacious tomb of Mahmoud, over which a few priests perpetually read the Koran, are all that remain of this once proud seat of the conqueror of Asia.

The Ghiznevide dynasty continued for some time to retain their diminished authority. It was extinguished by Mohammed Ghori, the successor of Allah-ul-Dien. He pursued into Lahore the last of this mighty race, whose name was Chusero; but the unfortunate prince made a resistance so desperate in that strong retreat, that the invader was twice obliged to retire. At last, by a feigned alliance, he induced his unwary victim to come out to meet him,—then, by a circuitous march, cut him off from Lahore, surrounded his little camp, and obliged him to surrender. He at first showed a disposition to mercy, and only confined him in a strong castle; but at length, in the year 1186, alleging the predictions of some astrologer, secured his safety by putting all the family to death.

Mohammed Ghori or Ghoor obtained the government of Ghizni in 1174, and held it in his brother's name and his own for thirty-two years, with a valour and fortune similar to those of his great ancestors whom he resembled in name. Commencing his career with the occupation of the frontier territory of Lahore, he made it his principal object to extend his dominion over India. Collecting all his forces he advanced against Ajmere, which at first submitted; but the King of Delhi, having formed an alliance

with several neighbouring princes, hastened to its relief with two hundred thousand infantry and three thousand elephants. Mohammed, trusting to the courage of his mountain-tribes, rushed fearlessly to the attack; but the view of this immense host wheeling round to enclose them, and the mighty array of its elephants, seems to have struck with panic these undisciplined warriors. Many of the chiefs with their followers fled, leaving the king surrounded by the enemy, who were greatly superior in numbers. The Moslem on horseback encountered hand to hand the King of Delhi, seated on his war-elephant. The Ghorian prince, after a desperate struggle, was pierced in the arm, fell to the ground, and was with difficulty carried off by a trusty band of his devoted adherents. The rout was complete, and the pursuit was continued forty miles.

The emperor spent a year in repairing the effects of this dreadful disaster, and organizing the means of a new invasion. He at first degraded the omrahs who had fled, subjecting them to the humiliation of marching round the city with bags of barley suspended from their necks, and of feeding out of them; but after proceeding on his next expedition, it was represented to him that he thus deprived himself of the services of many of his choicest warriors; upon which he allowed them to resume their stations, and obtain an opportunity of redeeming their fame.

Mohammed, having mustered all his forces, marched into India, where he met troops still more numerous than those who had vanquished him in the preceding year; all of whom had now bound themselves by the water of the Ganges to conquer or die. The

Indian princes advanced with boundless confidence; sending at the same time a friendly remonstrance, that if Mohammed was weary of his own life, he should at least pity the troops whom he was leading to so cruel a destiny. Retreat was still open to him; but if urged on by his evil genius, "we have sworn," said they, "by our gods to advance upon you with our rank-breaking elephants, war-treading horses, and blood-thirsty soldiers, early in the morning, to crush your unfortunate army." The wary commander returned an answer seemingly inspired by alarm; stating, that he carried on the war only in obedience to his brother, without whose orders he could not retreat, but would gladly arrange the terms of a truce till he could receive further instructions. The Indians, lulled by this humble and submissive tone, gave themselves up to security, and spent the night in merriment. Mohammed, watching the moment when they were completely off their guard, made an attack during the darkness, defeating and putting to flight large bodies of their army; yet so immense was the circuit of their camp, that there remained and were rallied next morning numbers which seemed enough to crush the whole host of the invaders. The Mussulman then adopted the old Scythian warfare; with his squadrons of cavalry he alternately attacked and retreated, till towards evening, seeing the enemy completely harassed and exhausted, he charged at the head of his chosen band of mailed horsemen, who bore down all opposition, and drove the whole Indian army into a tumultuary flight. The King of Delhi fell, and immense spoil came into the hands of the conqueror. Having advanced to the capital, the victor was prevailed upon

by a high ransom to spare it, but left a strong force under his lieutenant, Cuttub, to maintain his authority in that quarter. This officer soon after assembled a large army, subverted the throne of Delhi, and reigned there as viceroy. Thus a Moslem dominion was for the first time established in the heart of India, and in one of its greatest cities.

After a lapse of a short period, Mohammed made another expedition into Indostan. Being joined by Cuttub, he totally defeated the Prince of Kanouge, then marched against Benares, broke the idols of its thousand shrines, and loaded four thousand camels with the wealth of that sacred city. Following a career similar to that of the Ghiznevide, he made nine expeditions into India, and accumulated treasures which almost rivalled those of his great predecessor. But this splendid light of conquest was in one moment extinguished. On his way from Lahore to Ghizni, he pitched his tent for the night on the banks of the Indus or one of its tributaries. A band of the mountain-tribe of Gwickwars, many of whose relations had perished in war with Mohammed, had vowed, at whatever cost, to purchase revenge. The season being extremely hot, the *canats* or screens enclosing the imperial tents had been thrown open for the admission of air. Twenty conspirators, availing themselves of this circumstance, stole in unperceived, stabbed the sentry on guard, and, having drawn off the attention of the others, penetrated to the chamber of the king, who was lying asleep with two slaves fanning him. All their daggers were instantly plunged in his breast, and he sunk under their hands, pierced by twenty-two wounds.

Thus perished this great conqueror, whose dominion was almost as extensive as that of Mahmoud of Ghizni. Like him, according to Ferishta, he was not devoid of virtues, yet has left behind a darker and fiercer reputation, redeemed by fewer traits of refinement and humanity. With him the dynasty of Ghori rose and fell. He left no descendants possessed of energy sufficient to support the weight of his huge ill-balanced empire. His lieutenants, Ildecuz in the mountain-territory, and Cuttub in India, soon erected for themselves independent sovereignties.

# CHAPTER VII.

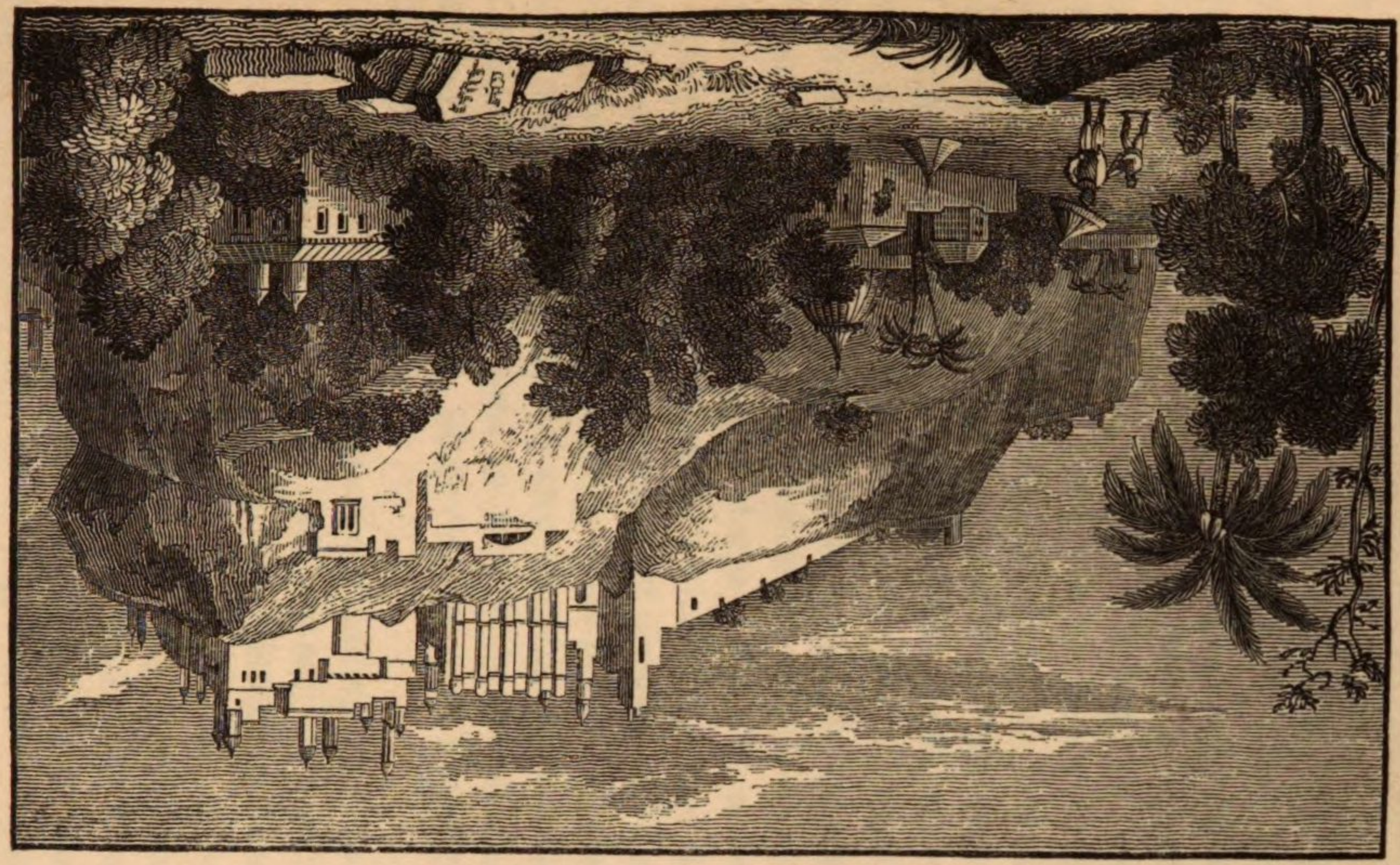
## *The Patan or Afghan Dynasty.*

Cuttub-ul-Dien founds this Dynasty—Altumsh—Sultana Rizia—Mahmoud II.—His ascetic Severity—Balin—Brilliant Patronage of the Arts and Sciences—Kei Kobad and Kera—Allah I.—His brave and fierce Reign—Conquest of Southern India—Adventures of the Princesses Cumladè and Dewildè—Anarchy—Several short Reigns—Mohammed III.—His Cruelty—Ferose III.—Short Reigns and general Disorder—Timur—His Character—Invasion of India—Capture of Delhi, and dreadful Massacre—His Return—Succession of Emperors—Conquest by Baber—Close of the Patan Dynasty.

CUTTUB-UL-DIEN, the founder of the first Mohammedan, or what was called the Patan race of emperors who ruled in India, was of the humblest birth; it was even made the reproach of his dynasty that it originated with a slave. Brought as a captive from Turkestan, he had been purchased by a citizen of Nishapour, who, finding his talents good, instructed him in various arts and sciences. Upon the death of his master, he was sold with the rest of the property, and came into the possession of Mohammed. His abilities and address soon raised him to the rank of principal page; whence he was promoted to a military command, and soon rose to the first station in the army. The high confidence reposed in him by the emperor, pointed him out as the fittest person to remain as viceroy of the con-

quered territories in India, when the former retired to his native mountains. Cuttub remained faithful to his superior; yet, from his distant position, he reigned almost uncontrolled during that monarch's life, whom he survived four years, and whose successor publicly owned him as king. He is celebrated as brave, just, and humane; and his liberality was so unbounded as to make it become proverbial in India to say of any one,—" He is as generous as Cuttub-ul-Dien." He waged war with the neighbouring potentates generally with success, though in a campaign against the Rajpoots he sustained a signal defeat. Sinking, however, towards the close of his reign, into indolence and luxury, he allowed his rival, Ildecuz, to seize upon Ghizni and several of the frontier territories. He died in the year 1210.

Altumsh, though a Tartar of noble birth, had, like Cuttub, been sold as a slave, and purchased by that prince. Having raised himself by his valour to be captain-general and son-in-law to the emperor, he mounted the throne, having overcome Aram, the rightful heir. He redressed all the evils caused by the weaknesses of his aged predecessor. He defeated Ildecuz, and took him prisoner; he extended the empire on every side; making Bengal and Bahar first tributary and then subject provinces, over which his sons were placed as viceroys. He reduced, after a long siege, Gwalior, considered the principal bulwark of Hindoo power. Seated on a lofty hill with perpendicular sides, defended by extensive works, and supplied with abundance of water, it was viewed as nearly impregnable. He distinguished himself also by the conquest of Malwa,



the capture of Ougein, and the demolition of the revered statue of Vicramaditya. He is celebrated, on the whole, as a good and wise prince.

About this time a mighty tempest swept along the borders of India, happily without touching her rich provinces. Zingis, after ravaging Asia from the Pacific to the Caspian, and reducing numberless kingdoms under his dominion, attacked the Prince of the Afghans, whom he drove before him, and compelled to take refuge beyond the Indus. Altumsh refused to shelter him, and hence the arms of Zingis were turned aside from the wealthy regions which stretch towards the south. Perhaps his horsemen, accustomed only to scour the plains of Tartary and Persia, felt themselves unable to act with vigour amid the rugged steeps of the Caucasus.

After the death of Altumsh, which took place in 1236, there followed a succession of princes, most of whom occupied, during a very short period, a disputed throne, but without any material alteration of boundaries or relations in regard to the neighbouring states. A few, however, were so remarkable as to deserve notice.

Rizia Begum stood perhaps alone among Mohammedans as a reigning queen. In her earliest youth she displayed such talents for administration that Altumsh, her father, when departing on his expedition against Gwalior, left her sole regent, regarding her as better fitted than any of his sons to sustain the weight of government. Ferose, one of the princes, having been afterwards deposed for incapacity, the chiefs unanimously vested the empire in this accomplished lady. She assumed the imperial robes, took her seat on the musnud, administered

the laws strictly and impartially, and suppressed with vigour all attempts to take advantage of the supposed weakness of a female reign. Yet Rizia stooped at length to the frailty of her sex; she became doatingly attached to an Abyssinian slave named Jammal, whose elevation to the highest honours and dignities was ill-brooked by the great lords and omrahs of the empire. Their discontent was soon matured into insurrection, which, though it was at first successfully resisted, became truly formidable when it was headed by Byram, her brother, who had a more natural right to the throne. The fair ruler of India was finally defeated, imprisoned, and, by a consequence too natural in that part of the world, afterwards put to death.

Mahmoud II., a younger son of Altumsh, had been oppressed by the jealousy of his sister and brother, and kept in long confinement. In his adversity he acquired virtues which afterwards eminently fitted him to adorn a throne. Disdaining the subsistence allowed by his ungenerous relatives, he earned his own livelihood by writing or rather copying books. Released from prison by a more humane prince, and intrusted with a small government, he obtained such a reputation for justice and wisdom that his accession to the throne was hailed with universal satisfaction. Nor was this high expectation in any degree disappointed. According to Ferishta, he was the patron of learning, the protector of the people, and the friend of the poor. Without embroiling himself in unnecessary war, he defended his territories with vigour against numerous and formidable enemies. Yet these elevated virtues were somewhat alloyed by a pedantic and fantastic

ostentation of simplicity. Seated on the most splendid throne of the East, he practised the austerity of a hermit. Applying all his revenues to the exigencies of the state, he continued to earn by the pen his own support, which was limited to a supply of the humblest necessaries. He not only rejected the vain and culpable privilege of a numerous seraglio and confined himself to one wife, but he compelled that lady to discharge the most menial functions. Even when her majesty complained that she burned her fingers in the process of cooking, and asked for a maiden to aid her in that humble task, he rejected the request. This was very extravagant; yet there appears a fine and amiable feeling in the following anecdote. He had shown part of his daily task of copying the Koran to an omrah whom he much respected, and who pointed out an erroneous word. The emperor immediately erased it; but as soon as the chief departed, he restored the characters; and being asked the reason, answered, that the word was right; but that he did not wish to give pain to a worthy man by telling him he was mistaken.

The good government of Mahmoud had been in a great measure due to the happy choice of his prime minister Balin, or Baleen, who made himself universally popular; so that when the emperor died without posterity, the vizier, not being much attached to a family who had treated his master so ill, stepped into his place almost without a struggle. It is scarcely possible, however, for a usurper to ascend a throne without being drawn into crime. Balin was one of forty Turkish chiefs who had associated to divide the empire among them on the monarch's

decease. Mutual jealousy had already dissolved this bond; but the minister, notwithstanding, determined to consult his own security by making the whole of them perish either by poison or by the sword. This crime having quieted his fears, he did not again dip his hands in blood, but began a career which, for justice, mildness, and popularity, has scarcely an equal even among the many illustrious sovereigns who have ruled Indostan. Balin was another of the *slave-emperors*. Having been captured by the Moguls, he was carried to Bagdad, and sold to a merchant of Bassora, who, learning that he was a relation of Altumsh, brought him to Delhi, and disposed of him with great advantage to that emperor. His talents soon raised him to a military command; and having attached himself to the cause of Byram, he was one of the most active instruments in the fall of the Empress Rizia. On succeeding to Mahmoud he made an entire change in the outward aspect of the court, restoring all those gay appendages of which it had been so closely shorn by his predecessor. He appeared in public with a blaze of pomp unwonted even in the East, which, however, he professed to exhibit solely in order to conciliate the respect of his people. He found ample scope for the exercise and perhaps the ostentation of kindness and generosity in the vast number of princes, some of them the greatest in Asia, who had been dethroned and forced to fly before the warlike hordes of Zingis and his successors. Upwards of fifteen of these fallen sovereigns, including two sons of the caliph, were accommodated with spacious apartments, and with every thing which could make them forget the miseries of their lot; and on occasions of

state they were ranged round his throne in the order of their respective dignities. They brought with them a multitude of bards and ingenious men, who had constituted the ornament of their courts; to all of whom the emperor extended a patronage the most liberal and humane perhaps that has ever been bestowed by any monarch. Learned men, poets, and artists, were invited from the remotest extremities of Asia; and every effort was made, though without success, to induce Sadi, the pride of Persia, to quit the delights of Shiras. The king's two sons, Shehid and Kera, vied with him in rendering the court of India the most refined and polite in the world. The former held at his palace a nightly assembly of divines, philosophers, and poets, at the head of whom was the bard Chusero; while Kera, the younger prince, in another apartment, convened musicians, players, story-tellers, and such as were possessed of the lighter talents. Amid these elegant pursuits, Balin did not aim at the glory of a conqueror; he even rejected opportunities that were presented for extending his dominions; though he vigorously defended his people against every aggression. He defeated with great slaughter the Rajpoots of Mewar, who by their predatory inroads had rendered a great extent of country almost uninhabitable; and though he could not altogether subdue these hardy sons of the desert, he cut down an extensive forest in which they were accustomed to find shelter, and by a line of forts so secured the district, that it was soon brought under full cultivation.

On the death of Balin, in 1286, his eldest and most accomplished son, Shehid, being dead, and Kera absent in Bengal, Kei Kobad, son to the lat-

ter, was raised to the throne, which could not safely be left vacant even for a short interval. This prince was considered a youth of great promise, being imbued with the elegant tastes of his family; but on mounting the throne he soon allowed these qualities to degenerate into license and voluptuousness. He abandoned the reins of government to Nizam, an unworthy favourite, who oppressed the people, and put to death all who endeavoured to oppose his tyranny. Meantime Kera, who had remained at first content with the government of Bengal, distressed by the accounts of his son's conduct, and not unwilling perhaps to take into his own hand the reins of empire, assembled a large army and marched into Bahar. The emperor met him with his whole force on the banks of the Gogra; but Kera, moved by parental tenderness, sent a message, earnestly entreating that before affairs came to extremities, he might obtain a conference with his child. An interview was accordingly arranged; but the latter, swollen with pride, seated himself on the imperial throne in the highest pomp, while the father, in approaching, was obliged at three different stages to do obeisance to him by kissing the ground, the mace-bearers exclaiming,—"The noble Kera to the king of the world sends health." The aged sovereign, seeing himself exposed to this indignity, burst into tears. Suddenly at this spectacle the soul of the young monarch was moved; he sprung from his throne, threw himself at his parent's feet, and sought forgiveness. Kera raised him up, and the father and son mingled tears and embraces. An intimate communication was opened, and continued for twenty days, during which they

agreed each to rest satisfied with his actual possessions; but the former most earnestly entreated his son to change his conduct, to distrust Nizam, to renounce his dissolute habits, and apply himself to the good government of his empire. Kei Kobad made the fairest promises, and set out for Delhi with the resolution of performing them. For some short period he persevered; but the vizier, having assembled from every quarter the most seductive syrens, particularly one described as of almost supernatural beauty, caused the emperor soon to relapse into his former pleasures. His health was ruined, and he became an object of contempt to his people, till at length he was murdered, together with his infant son, by Ferose, an Afghan chief, who mounted the throne in his stead. This usurper, though he had in the usual manner stepped through blood to power, was afterwards rather blamed for too great lenity in its exercise.

Allah, who murdered and succeeded his uncle Ferose in the year 1295, was perhaps of all the sovereigns of Indostan the most energetic and terrible. The people sympathized deeply in the fate of the late monarch, whose head he caused to be fixed on a pole, and carried through camp and city. To pave the way to the throne by the death of its possessor had become indeed an established practice, of which Ferose himself had set the example. But there was something peculiarly barbarous in the manner in which the new emperor perpetrated this murder, and subsequently that of all the imperial family. He not only, as Ferishta observes, began in cruelty, but waded through blood to the end. He abandoned himself at the same time to the most unbridled voluptuousness, and court-

ed the favour of the omrahs by leaving them also at full liberty to indulge their licentious propensities. Yet the fame of Allah as a warrior stood in the foremost rank. Before mounting the throne, he had begun his military career by marching with a corps of 8000 men against Deoghire or Dowlatabad, capital of the great kingdom of Aurungabad. Causing it to be believed that this force was only the vanguard of the main army, he intimidated the city into a surrender; put to flight a vast body of troops assembled for its defence; and returned laden with a treasure which had been accumulating for ages. He afterwards sent his vizier, Kafoor, to conquer the Carnatic and other southern kingdoms,—an undertaking which proved completely successful, and produced a plunder that has been estimated, doubtless extravagantly high, at £100,000,000 sterling.

Allah found a more legitimate occasion of triumph in repelling the invasion of the Mongols (whom the historians of India call Moguls), successors to Zingis, who had formed a kingdom in Mavar-ul-Nahar. Their first army was met in Lahore, and completely defeated by Elich, the emperor's brother. Two years after, they poured in a force of two hundred thousand men, which they loudly boasted would effect the conquest of all India. Every thing gave way before them as far as Delhi, which was crowded to excess with multitudes seeking refuge from this barbarous invader. Allah, having mustered his forces, marched out to battle. Ziffer, the greatest of his generals, at the head of the right wing and of the elephants, attacked with such impetuosity, that the enemy were completely broken

and pursued for many miles. Not being duly supported, however, he at length fell into an ambuscade, when he was surrounded and killed. Yet the Moguls had suffered so severely that they did not resume the attack, but retreated westward. It was suspected, as being not at all inconsistent with the general character of Allah, that he was instrumental in the desertion of his own brave commander, and considered his fall almost as great a triumph as the defeat of the enemy.

The emperor, intoxicated with success, began to conceive the most extravagant projects. Two in particular were deeply and fondly cherished. He hoped to emulate the glory at once of Mohammed and Alexander, names which in the East stand above those of all other mortals. Although so ignorant that he could neither read nor write, he undertook to prepare for the human race a new religion, which was to unite the Moslem and the Brahminical in one common worship. Next, he was to leave a viceroy to rule over India, and to set out himself, as a second Alexander, to conquer the world. His flatterers applauded, and men of sense, overawed by his furious temper, withdrew and were silent. At length Alla-ul-Mulluck, the aged and venerable magistrate of Delhi, determined at all hazards that the truth should for once be heard by this formidable despot. Being summoned to the palace, he entered on a full discussion of these two insane projects. He began with the theological scheme, whereby, as a Mohammedan, he had been struck with the deepest horror. He did not dwell on Allah's utter incapacity for the task, but urged the impossibility of commanding the minds of men on

such a subject,—the alienation which this scheme would produce among the Moslems, on whom alone he could rely,—and the hopelessness of converting the Hindoos, who had resisted so many successive invaders. As to the scheme of conquest, he reminded him that his possession of India itself was by no means secure,—that many districts were still unsubdued,—and that even in his immediate dominions there were various elements of dissension;—nay, that the empire, left to itself, would probably pass from him either by revolt or invasion, while he would have a very doubtful chance of gaining another in its place. Allah, who did not want strong natural sense, meditated on this remonstrance; and instead, as was expected, of cutting off the head of his sage adviser, acknowledged the justice of his observations, and dismissed from his mind for ever these two chimerical designs.

Although the emperor had thus shown a certain portion of wisdom, his mode of governing was still very loose and irregular; giving rise to repeated insurrections, to one of which he had very nearly fallen a sacrifice. This event so strongly affected his mind, that he determined upon completely reforming his system of rule. He suppressed the license of the grandees, and introduced so rigid an administration of justice, that the merchant, formerly exposed to every species of spoliation, now travelled in safety from Bengal to Cabul, and from Cape Comorin to Cashmere. He renounced the use of wine, emptied his cellars into the street, and compelled his omrahs to imitate his example; so that Delhi for several days streamed with that precious liquor. The collectors of the revenue, who had been amassing large fortunes,

were reduced to a bare subsistence. Yet this reformed system was accompanied with many features of blind and violent despotism. He employed spies to give information of the most secret incidents in the interior of families, and in the remotest provinces. The omrahs were not permitted to marry, or even to entertain a company, without a written authority from the emperor; and by fines and confiscations levied on various pretences he ruined a number of the overgrown nobles. He reduced the pay of the army; but that the soldiers might not suffer, he undertook to lower the prices of grain and other necessaries in the same proportion; and to this end issued edicts, and adopted the most violent measures, which, though of course abortive, must have occasioned great inconvenience and oppression. To diminish the value of horses he prohibited every one from keeping them beyond a certain time; and many poor dealers, accused of contravening this arbitrary statute, were whipped or put to death. In spite of all this, the strict administration of justice, and the check put on the licentious domination of the omrahs, made his reign at this period be regarded as a blessing by the great body of the people. Allah even showed a desire for that higher species of glory which is derived from letters. He invited to his court the most eminent men; and the presence of Casi Molana, Corami, and Cuzi Biana, with other sages, was considered as rendering this one of the most brilliant eras of Mohammedan literature. The emperor himself, ashamed of his profound ignorance, applied with such zeal to acquire the first elements of knowledge, that he was soon able to read the Persian language. Still it was a very delicate

affair for these sages to hold conversation with the monarch without making him sensible of his own extreme deficiency. Nicer still was the duty of expounding to him the Mohammedan law, to which his practice formed in many respects a complete contrast; yet this is said to have been done faithfully, though not without fear and trembling.

The history of Allah contains some record of love-adventures, which may afford an idea how this branch of the imperial economy was conducted:— On taking Nahrwalla, the capital of Guzerat, he became possessed of the wives as well as of the baggage and treasure of its unfortunate prince. Among the former was Cumladè, esteemed the flower of India, who, by her beauty, wit, and accomplishments, so charmed the conqueror, that, regardless of all former ties, he made her his queen. She does not seem to have felt her situation very irksome, since she afterwards expressed an earnest wish to be joined by her daughter, Dewildè, then thirteen years of age, and who had succeeded her mother in the reputation of being the greatest beauty in the empire. Allah readily undertook to satisfy her, and sent his general, Alip, with a strong army to bring the young princess to Delhi, without any reference to her own or her father's inclinations. These, it seems, happened to point in a different direction; for Dewildè was found already on her journey to be united to Singeldeo, prince of the Deccan. Alip, aware that he had to deal with one who accepted no excuse, pushed on with such speed, that he overtook and completely defeated the escort. They fled into the mountains, but were met by a party of the imperial troops. A combat ensued,

the fair object of which, herself in the field, had her horse pierced by an arrow, and she might have fallen, had not her women by their screams made known who she was, when the conquerors paused, and received her with the utmost respect. The beautiful captive was immediately conveyed to her mother at Delhi, where Chizer, the emperor's son, became enamoured of her; their loves are said to have been happy, and to have inspired one of the most elegant effusions of the poet Chusero.

Another attempt which Allah made to gratify a similar passion had a less fortunate issue. Having defeated and taken captive the Rajah of Chittore, one of the greatest Rajpoot princes, he offered him liberty on the condition of adding to the imperial seraglio his daughter, reputed one of the most beautiful and accomplished princesses of the age. The rajah, overcome by his distress, gave a reluctant consent; but the young lady, regarding this proposal as full of the deepest dishonour, obtained leave to make trial of a plan which she had contrived for saving her father. She announced her readiness to accede to the marriage, and having procured a passport from the imperial court, fitted out a long train of close travelling-chairs, in the most splendid of which she herself was understood to take her seat. The procession advanced to Delhi, and on its arrival an earnest request was made on the part of the princess that she should without delay be allowed an interview with her parent. A petition so natural was readily granted; and the whole train was admitted into his prison. The chairs being then opened, gave out, not a fair retinue of female attendants, but, like the Trojan horse, a band of

hardy warriors clad in full armour, who instantly cut in pieces the guards, snatched up the monarch, and having placed him on a swift horse, soon eluded pursuit.

Allah, towards the end of his life, abandoned himself again to dissolute habits, and is suspected to have been poisoned by Kafoor, his profligate favourite, who immediately put out the eyes of his sons Chizer and Shadi, and undertook to reign himself in the name of Omar, an infant. He was soon however assassinated; and in the year 1316 the crown was placed on the head of Mubarick I., one of the emperor's sons.

There seem to have existed hitherto in the Patan dynasty certain hereditary rules of good government, to which even bad men, after the first crimes that raised them to the throne, seldom failed to conform. Allah broke the series, and his wicked example was but too faithfully followed. Mubarick, during a reign of three years, disgraced himself by plunging into all those excesses of debauchery which have consigned to infamy the names of Nero and Heliogabalus. At length Chusero, an abandoned courtier, hired a band of ruffians, and having entered his sleeping-apartment, seized him by the hair, and engaged in a desperate struggle, the issue of which Mubarick's extraordinary strength would have rendered doubtful, had not one of the conspirators cut off his head with a sabre. The murderer now attempted to reign, but India was not sunk so low as to endure it. An insurrection was raised, and the wretch, deserted by all his adherents, fled into a tomb, where he was discovered and put to death. Amid this confusion, Tuglick, a

slave belonging to the warlike border-tribe of the Jits, ascended the throne. Like all the sovereigns derived from this low origin, he ruled well and wisely; and it was a misfortune to the empire when, at the end of four years, he was killed by the accidental fall of a pavilion.

Tuglick was succeeded by his son Jonah, who assumed the title of Mohammed III.; but instead of following his father's example, his crimes surpassed those of his most guilty predecessors, and made him, during a reign of twenty-seven years, the execration of the East. Mubarick was a monster of debauchery,—Mohammed of cruelty. His actions exceeded in atrocity the greatest enormities of the worst of the Cæsars. On conceiving umbrage at any class of the inhabitants, he assembled his warriors as for a hunt, then told them that men, not animals, were to be the objects of chase. The devoted district was subjected to military execution; the people were massacred, their eyes were put out, or their heads were carried to Delhi and suspended in rows along the walls. Among his minor oppressions were those of grinding the cultivator with enormous taxes and debasing the coin; and when by these proceedings he had driven the farmers in large bodies to abandon the fields, he became enraged, and set out on one of his bloody hunts. Notwithstanding, he professed himself a friend of religion and a patron of learned men; he was besides energetic, temperate, attentive to business, suppressed vigorously the rebellions which his cruelty excited, and continued during his life to tyrannize over India.

This prince seems in many respects to have followed the evil example of Allah. The conquest of

the world, which the one only meditated and wisely renounced, the other actually attempted. He began by sending a hundred thousand men against China; but in advancing through the steeps and defiles of the Himmaleh for which they seem to have been entirely unprepared, they suffered so severely, that the greater part of them perished, and only a handful returned to Delhi. He had prepared also an immense force for the conquest of Khorassan and Mavar-ul-Nahar, comprehending the territories of Samarcand and Bochara; but the alarm of insurrection at home deterred him from this wild expedition. Rebellion stalked round him on every side, and shook almost all his provinces; yet his energy, military skill, and barbarity, enabled him to suppress it, and to maintain his reign of terror. Only the noble and distant kingdom of the Deccan, the conquest of Allah, finally defied all his efforts. Such was his eagerness for its preservation, that he at one time relinquished the grandeur of imperial Delhi and removed his court and residence to Deoghire, the capital of the former, which he named Dowlatabad, or the Fortunate City. The pressure of circumstances, however, compelled him to resume his wonted seat of government, and he ultimately saw the Deccan formed into an independent monarchy. Hassen Caco, a Mogul chieftain, assumed the title of Allah I., and became the founder of a mighty dynasty. Mohammed, it appears, had at length resolved to adopt a milder system; but death interrupted him before he could realize his intentions, and delivered India from the dreadful scourge of his government in the year 1351.

This monarch was succeeded by his cousin, Ferose

III., a prince happily of a very different temper. Under him the arts of peace flourished and the rights of humanity were respected. He is said to have built thirty reservoirs for irrigation, a hundred bridges, forty mosques, thirty colleges, with many other works of splendour and utility. He has been accused of being unwarlike, yet he showed no want of vigour in suppressing the few insurrections which arose under his government. In a particular case he was even charged with an excess of severity. That he did not attempt to reconquer the Deccan; a great and distant kingdom, now firmly established under a powerful dynasty, was probably a resolution as wise and beneficial for his people as for himself. India, during his reign of thirty-eight years, breathed from her long calamities; industry reared its head; but after his removal the empire was involved in fresh disasters.

The short reigns of Tuglick II., Abu Bicker, and Mohammed IV., exemplified the precarious nature of oriental power. Mahmoud III. was a minor; the crown was disputed by Nuserit, grandson to Ferose III., and almost all the provinces were setting up for independence when, in the year 1397, India was assailed by an enemy, whom her utmost strength, guided by her ablest monarchs, would scarcely have been able to resist.

Timur (whom we shall not, with Colonel Briggs, name Teimoor) was certainly one of the most remarkable among the conquerors of Asia. If his career did not, like that of Zingis, include China and Muscovy, his conquests in India, Persia, and the Turkish empire, which he almost totally subverted, brought him more conspicuously into the

view of the western world. High panegyrics have been pronounced in the East on his justice and humanity; and these have been studiously repeated by the long line of princes who derived their lineage from his house. Timur, it is true, in the Book of Institutes written at least with his sanction, shows some correct ideas as to the duties of a sovereign, which, in a formal dissertation, he endeavours to prove that he himself had signally fulfilled. Yet he numbers among them extensive conquest, the spreading of Islamism by dint of arms, and the most rigid enforcement of his own despotic principles. He even applauds the maxim, that when a prince has commanded any thing, though he become sensible that it is wrong, he ought not the less to enforce the mandate, lest his authority should be in any degree compromised. He and his adherents boast of his humanity to a submissive enemy; but this submission he required to be instant and entire,—such as could scarcely ever be expected from a nation wantonly invaded. His mercy seldom availed to protect a people from the horrors of conquest, which appeared in indiscriminate massacre and huge pyramids of heads reared as trophies of victory. Thus to go round the world exterminating nations with the words of humanity in his mouth, seems more odious than even the blind and barbarous ravages of Genseric and Attila. That Timur, in the countries subjected to his sway, might secure a regular administration of justice, and study to promote the public prosperity, may be believed, since this, in oriental history, is often combined with the most boundless and savage ambition. Yet the narrative of Clavijo the Spanish ambassador, who visited his

court at Samarcand, and describes its rude pomp, shows that his system of rule was thoroughly despotic. For example, he sent one day for the governor of the city, and, charging him with having abused his trust, caused his head to be struck off without a moment's delay; and two chiefs who ventured to intercede for the sufferer shared the same fate. Having once ordered a broad street to be formed in twenty days, the workmen began with such furious haste, demolishing every house that stood in their way, that the owners had scarcely time to remove with their most precious effects. They humbly requested some small compensation; but he sternly replied that all Samarcand belonged to him. When his couriers halted at any stage, they immediately began applying the whip in every direction till relays were furnished; and if they met a horse on the road which would serve their purpose, instantly seized it, striking off the owner's head if he offered any resistance.

Timur seems to have had no pretext for the invasion of India, except the desire of possessing it and the hope of success afforded by its distracted condition. He set out from Samarcand in 1397, and advanced without difficulty along the immense Plains of Bactria. Then he had to scale the tremendous barrier of the Indian Caucasus, whose steep and rugged passes were peculiarly unfit for the march of the heavy Scythian horsemen. He scornfully disdained to use any means for conciliating the fierce and warlike natives; they accordingly opposed him at every step, and, though they could not arrest his progress, they inflicted upon him extensive losses. Yet it seems an exaggeration

to assert, that there were certain points where he could not advance without being lowered down from the cliffs by means of ropes. His cavalry, it is obvious, could not proceed in such a country, or be aided by similar expedients; and if there was a road for them, he might follow on foot. At length having crossed the Indus, he marched towards Moultan, already occupied by his nephew, Peer Mohammed, who had, however, been hard pressed by the Patan omrahs, especially the Governor of Batneir. Timur, by joining his forces to those of his relative, became superior in the field. It was determined to begin with the capture of Batneir, a fortress considered almost impregnable, and he moved against it with only 10,000 of his chosen veterans. The troops within the walls, encouraged by the smallness of this number, marched out and gave battle; but they could not withstand the shock of the Mogul cavalry, who pursued them to the city, entered it along with them, and were soon masters of all except the citadel. Timur then ordered the execution of five hundred of those who had shown the greatest enmity to his nephew. The view of this barbarous execution drove the Hindoos, who still held the fort, into a frenzy of desperation. They set fire to the place, killed their wives and children, then rushed wildly forth to sell their lives as dearly as possible. Every individual perished, yet not before several thousands of the Moguls had fallen,—a loss by which Timur was so exasperated, that he gave orders for an indiscriminate massacre.

The conqueror, collecting all his forces, now advanced upon Delhi, ravaging the country as he

passed. Whatever good might have been shown by Timur elsewhere, India knew him only in crime and terror. Finding himself incumbered with an enormous multitude of captives, and alarmed lest they should rise against him, he issued the horrid mandate for a general butchery; and a hundred thousand are said to have been put to death.

Mahmoud having shut himself up in Delhi with 40,000 foot and 10,000 horse, the invader became apprehensive that if his opponent should resolve to remain with this large force in a strongly-fortified position, the siege might be arduous, or at least ruinously protracted. To allure him into the field, he directed that only small parties should present themselves in front, with a studied display of weakness and timidity, as if only waiting a serious attack to commence their retreat. Mahmoud fell into the snare, marched out, and presented his whole army, with a numerous body of elephants, drawn up in battle-array. The fortune of the field was then in the hands of Timur; his troops, rendered hardy and skilful by a life of warfare, were opposed only to an effeminate and tumultuary crowd, who were instantly broken and pursued to the gates of Delhi. The emperor fled into Guzerat; while the city submitted and received a foreign garrison. Historians vary as to the extent of the guilt of Timur in the fatal scene which ensued. The adherents of the Mogul dynasty assert that while that prince was celebrating a great festival in his camp, he was surprised by the view of the flames ascending from the capital. Ferishta, however, gives more credit, and seemingly with reason, to the report, that some of his troops having acted with violence towards the citizens, the

latter rose and killed several of their number; upon which Timur gave up this immense metropolis to an unrestrained pillage. The unhappy Hindoos, in a state of distraction, slew their wives, then rushed out upon their enemies; but the efforts of this undisciplined crowd availed nothing against the warlike array of the Moguls; the streets of Delhi streamed with blood; and, after a short contest, the unresisting natives were led captive by hundreds out of the city.

Timur, under what impulse does not appear, instead of advancing into the rich countries of Oude and Bengal, directed his march towards the Upper Ganges, and reached that river near Hurdwar. He then suddenly formed the resolution of retracing his steps, and marched along the lower borders of the Himmaleh range, maintaining severe combats with its brave inhabitants, and every where marking his path with blood. Having suppressed an insurrection at Lahore he recrossed the Indus, and proceeded without delay upon the grand expedition in which he vanquished Bajazet and laid prostrate for a time the rising empire of the Ottomans.

But, after his departure, he exercised scarcely any sway over India. Money was indeed coined in his name, and its princes owned themselves nominally his vassals. In other respects, his inroad served only to aggravate the anarchy under which that hapless empire was doomed to groan. The governor of each province asserted a temporary independence; Delhi, for some time abandoned, began to be repeopled, and passed from one hand to another. Mahmoud sometimes resigned himself to a private station, and then made attempts to resume the rank of

emperor. It was not till 1413, when he died, and Chizer, viceroy of Moultan, seized the throne, and held it as the representative of Timur, that any amelioration was felt. This governor exercised authority with vigour and wisdom, and the empire began to recover its wonted form and strength. There was no longer indeed any attempt to comprehend in it Bengal, Guzerat, or the Deccan; but it still comprised Delhi, Agra, with other provinces composing Indostan Proper, and even held by a precarious tenure those of Moultan and Lahore.

There are few remarkable features in the race of princes who now succeeded. Mubarick, after a mild and rather enlightened administration of thirteen years, was assassinated by his vizier. The weak reigns of Mohammed V. and Allah II. had nearly dissolved the empire, when it was seized and held for thirty-eight years by the firm and cautious hand of Bheloli. His son, Secunder I., supported his reputation; but Ibrahim II., who succeeded, though vigorous and brave, was severe and unpopular. He was therefore very ill prepared for the great crisis which impended over the country.

After the death of Timur and his accomplished son, Shah Rokh, his vast dominion fell to pieces. Not only were its distant provinces severed, but its original domain of Transoxiana was split into portions, for which the different branches of his family fiercely contended. The territory of Kokaun, or Ferghana, a fine valley nearly enclosed by mountains, extending along the Upper Jaxartes, was inherited by a son of a great-grandson of Timur, aged only twelve, named Baber.

This youth proved perhaps the most singular per-

sonage in oriental history. He was the knight-errant of Asia, and spent his whole life losing and winning kingdoms. The adventures which the romancers of the middle ages ascribe to their fabulous heroes were realized in him. At one moment he was ruler of a great kingdom, in the next had scarcely a hut to shelter him; now he was at the head of a numerous army, and now he was scarcely able to muster a hundred adherents. Once ejected from his native kingdom, and reduced to two hundred and forty followers, he determined to attack Samarcand, the military capital of Asia, and defended by a strong army. He approached at midnight, scaled the walls, was joined by a number of adherents, made the city resound with shouts of victory, and produced such an alarm, that Shubiani the king fled, abandoning his metropolis and kingdom to Baber, who held them for a considerable time. Driven afterwards from this and other possessions, and having no longer any district which owned his power, he resolved to attack Cabul. The state of anarchy in which that country was involved made the people eagerly welcome a chief of vigorous character and high reputation, who might suppress the rival claims by which it was distracted. On the same grounds he was invited to Candahar. A formidable insurrection was raised against him; but Baber challenged successively five omrahs, and slew them in single combat, when the hostile army was moved with such admiration that they at once submitted.

Baber having established himself in Cabul, undertook several expeditions to the borders of Indostan, and the countries on the Indus. A considerable time, however, elapsed ere, in his own figurative lan-

guage, he finally "placed his footstep in the stirrup of resolution," and stood forth as a candidate for the imperial throne. He marched upon Delhi with only 13,000 horse, while Ibrahim came to meet him with a hundred thousand cavalry and a thousand elephants; but the bravery and experience of the hardy sons of the mountains more than compensated the inequality of numbers. The Moslem, ignorant of the military art, drew up his army in one extended line, which the active charge of the Moguls soon threw into confusion. The emperor, however, gallantly advancing in person with his chosen troops, attacked the enemy's centre, where the combat was almost confined to the two competitors for the sovereignty. Ibrahim fell; all his army fled; and Baber, in the year 1526, seated himself on the throne of Delhi.

This closed the dynasty, or rather the successive dynasties, of the Patan emperors. During the three hundred years that they occupied the throne of India, there was scarcely one family which swayed the sceptre for three generations. Not a few were slaves purchased from the regions of Afghanistan and Tartary, raised to high office by imperial favour, and to the empire by crime and treason. No country could be in a more humbled state than India during this period; the slave of slaves, trampled upon by a foreign soldiery bigotedly hostile to all her creeds and institutions; and yet so mysteriously are human things ordered, that with the exception of a few partial shocks, and some short intervals of misrule, she was, throughout this era, well governed, prosperous, and happy.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *The Mogul Dynasty to Aurengzebe.*

Baber—His Death and Character—Humaioon—His Exploits—Driven from the Empire—Misfortunes—Reign of Shere—Humaioon returns, and again mounts the Throne—Akbar succeeds—His daring Achievements—Mode of governing—Ayeen Akberry—Portuguese Missions from Goa—Reign of Jehangire—Visit of Hawkins—Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe—The Mogul Court—Rebellions against Jehangire—His Death—Reign of Shah Jehan—Rebellion of Lodi—Sons of Shah Jehan—Their Contests for the Sovereignty—Success of Aurengzebe—Dethrones his Father and becomes Emperor.

BABER was seated on the throne of India; but it was not as yet either secure or firmly established. The Patan omrahs, holding sway each in his separate province, detested the Mogul rule as a foreign usurpation, while they had gained to their interest the leading Rajpoot princes, the bravest part of the Hindoo population. An army of 100,000 men was mustered in the west, headed by Mahmoud, brother to the late emperor. Baber, surrounded on all sides by open enemies or feigned allies, and having none on whom he could repose confidence except the small band whom he had brought down from the mountains, was in a truly critical position. His troops were struck with panic; some even of his bravest captains advised him to retreat into Cabul, or at least to the provinces on the Indus. But his lofty

spirit indignantly repelled the idea of renouncing without a struggle so great an empire. He proclaimed that the voice of honour was loud in his ear, and with an enthusiasm which communicated itself to his adherents, exclaimed, "Since death is inevitable, it is glorious to meet him with courage, face to face, rather than to shrink back, to gain a few years of a miserable and ignominious existence; since what can we inherit but fame beyond the limits of the grave;"—quoting to the same effect some verses from the Shah Nameh. Availing himself of the circumstance that a great proportion of the enemy professed the Hindoo faith, he appealed to the religious zeal of his troops, and made them swear on the Koran to conquer or die. There were particulars in his own life which ill fitted him for acting the part of a Moslem champion; but he made a vow henceforth to renounce the use of wine, in which he had publicly and profusely indulged; and the golden goblets which had graced the imperial banquets were broken in pieces and given to the poor.

Baber, having thus duly seasoned the minds of his troops, proceeded to the military arrangements, which he conducted with singular ability. The enemy had an immense superiority in brave though not highly-disciplined cavalry; while he had only bands of light horse, fitted rather for pursuit and plunder than for the duties of a regular field. His chief strength consisted in a body of musketeers and a train of artillery; forces hitherto little employed in the wars of India. The guns, ranged in front, and chained together, presented a kind of wall to the enemy. Behind were the infantry, while squadrons of horsemen filled the intervals. Early in

the morning the Patan army advanced, spread their wings, and enveloped the little phalanx of Baber. But, by means of his fire-arms and artillery, he repelled the attacks which they continued to make during a great part of the day. At length, when he saw them exhausted and dispirited by repeated repulses, he collected two brigades of chosen troops, and led them on to a grand charge, before which the whole adverse army gave way, and many of its most distinguished chiefs remained on the field of battle.

Although this powerful confederacy against Baber was thus entirely broken, he did not yet hold peaceful possession of the great throne which he had ascended. He was disturbed by insurrections both in India and in Cabul; and at length, after reigning as emperor only five years, he died in 1530.

Baber may be ranked as the most accomplished prince that ever ruled over Indostan, although not perhaps either the greatest or best. His valour was brilliant; and several of his exploits are considered as surpassing even the most heroic of those achieved by Timur his ancestor. Yet his talents are observed to have been rather those of a daring partisan than of a great captain. He was almost as often defeated as victorious, and for a long period lost kingdoms as fast as he won them. But in the latter part of his reign his military policy seems to have assumed a more fixed character, and in the great battles on the Plains of Indostan he showed no want of the most consummate generalship. His bodily strength, and dexterity both in sports and warlike exercises, are described as almost preternatural. He was a master in the arts of poetry and

music, and the Commentaries in which he has related the events of his own life, and of which Doctor Leyden and Mr Erskine have furnished an excellent translation, display, not indeed any profound habits of philosophical reflection, but a shrewd and strong sense, combined with an active spirit of observation on the various scenes which passed before him. They exhibit also an interesting view of the manners of oriental courts and camps. The high moral qualities which have been ascribed to Baber appear somewhat more problematical. His temper was amiable, generous, and open; and though his conduct in the field was stained by some examples of the barbarity incident to his nation, clemency and humanity were often signally displayed even towards his most inveterate enemies. His protection of mercantile caravans, on occasions when the laws of war would have authorized him to plunder them, and thus to supply his most urgent wants, marks an equitable and liberal disposition. Yet we nowhere see in him the edifying picture of a monarch devoting himself in peace to the improvement of his country and the happiness of his people,—a spectacle so repeatedly exhibited even by the slave-sovereigns of the Patan dynasty. It is true the unsettled state of his fortunes left him little leisure for these tranquil and benignant cares; yet this also was owing in no small degree to his restless temper, which impelled him continually to new schemes of conquest and personal aggrandizement. In his youth he rigidly abstained from wine, but afterwards indulged to great excess. He even gives a disgusting account of the orgies celebrated with his jovial comrades; irregularities which appear to have shortened

his life, though they never diverted his attention from affairs of state.

Baber bequeathed his troubled empire to his son Humaioon, an amiable and accomplished prince, possessed of refined, though somewhat fantastic tastes. He was particularly devoted to the study of the heavenly bodies, which in that age and country was much tinctured with judicial astrology. He fitted up seven halls of reception, and dedicated one to each of the planets. Military commanders were received in the hall of Mars, judges and secretaries in that of Mercury, ambassadors, poets, and travellers in the hall of the Moon. From these recreations he was roused by the urgent cares of empire, to which he showed himself fully equal. He was soon involved in war with Bahadur, who had obtained the sovereignty of Guzerat. A mistaken religious zeal induced him to leave that prince unmolested while engaged in hostilities against the Pagan prince of Chittore; but he now advanced with so great a force, and conducted operations so ably, that Bahadur was obliged to retreat into Guzerat, unable to meet his antagonist in the field. He fled to Ahmedabad, having deposited his treasures in Chupanni, which was then considered an almost impregnable fortress. The emperor, however, at the head of a chosen band, mounted the perpendicular face of the rock by fixing in it iron spikes, and carried the place by surprise,—an exploit considered equal to any achieved either by Timur or Baber. After this glorious termination of his first war, he might have expected a peaceful and prosperous reign; but it was speedily disturbed by his brothers, Camiran and Hindal, who were em-

boldened in their criminal designs by his excessive mildness and lenity. Having divisions of the army placed under their command, they successively laid claim to the supreme power. These dissensions encouraged Shere Khan, a Patan chief, still in possession of Bengal, to advance with a powerful army against Humaioon; who, unable, from the distracted state of his affairs, to muster a sufficient force, was worsted, and returned in a discomfited condition to Agra. The brothers, seeing that their disunion was about to produce the ruin of their house, rallied round the emperor, though not with the requisite cordiality. Humaioon raised another army, and marched against Shere, but was again completely defeated, obliged to abandon his capital, and to seek refuge among the little princes on the border. Few, however, remain faithful to a fallen monarch. After being obliged to fly from several courts, he sought protection in that of Maldeo, who had been the most urgent in his proffers of amity and alliance; but finding that this base chief had resolved to seize and deliver him to the enemy, he felt himself compelled to remove instantly with his few remaining adherents across the Western Desert to the banks of the Indus. In this march he experienced a train of calamity such as scarcely ever befell even the most unfortunate princes of the East. His horse having dropped down dead with fatigue and thirst, the lord of the world could not procure another, till a common trooper desired his own mother to quit that on which she rode, and give it to him. After suffering dreadful agonies from want of water, the party came to a deep and copious well; but they had only one bucket, and when it was drawn up, such

crowds rushed forward, that the rope broke, the bucket fell in, and several were precipitated after it. Meantime the rearguard was repeatedly obliged to turn and repulse the enemy, who pursued close behind. Many of them perished ere they reached Amercot, on the opposite boundary of the desert. In the depth of this calamity, it was announced to Humaioon that his sultana had given birth to a son, the celebrated Akbar, afterwards the greatest prince of the East; but the emperor was obliged to pursue his flight, leaving his infant child to fall into the hands of a treacherous chief, by whom he was delivered over to Camiran, his brother and mortal enemy.

Humaioon sought refuge in Persia, and was received with the most magnificent hospitality by Shah Tamasp, who enabled him even to maintain the outward forms of imperial rank. Having agreed to embrace the Shiite creed or heresy, which in Persia is held the only true faith, he was furnished with ten thousand men, to be employed in the recovery of his lost empire. He marched first into Cabul, where he was again encountered by fraternal rivalry, that territory having been usurped by his brother Camiran. He next advanced and laid siege to Candahar, which surrendered, when he proceeded with a superior force against Cabul. There Camiran awaited his approach; and, on his arrival, exhibited on the walls his boy Akbar bound to a funeral-pile, intimating that he would forthwith put the child to death if the father should proceed to an attack upon the city. The latter, unmoved by this painful spectacle, intimated his determination to persevere, only adding the most dreadful threats if

the horrid deed were perpetrated. The barbarian renounced his meditated crime, and, with his adherents, retreated from Cabul. Humaioon entered the gates, embraced his son, and found himself again a king. He reigned nine years in that city, though constantly harassed by his brother, who, after reducing him repeatedly to great distress, was at last completely vanquished.

Meantime Shere had become undisputed master of the empire, and extended its limits on every side. He swayed the sceptre wisely and well; at which the Mogul historians are astonished, considering the treason by which he gained it; but Shere, as a Patan, owed only a very slight allegiance to the house of Baber. His arrangements for the accommodation of travellers, which, in the East, devolve generally upon the sovereign, were on a scale of which no former reign afforded an example. Across the entire breadth of Indostan, from the Ganges to the Indus. a space of three thousand miles, there was formed a high-road bordered with fruit-trees, with a well at every two miles, and caravanseras at every stage, where the traveller was accommodated at the public expense. Justice was maintained inviolate; general security reigned; and his death, at the end of five years, was considered a national calamity. His son, Selim, supplied his place nine years, though neither with equal wisdom nor ability; but when he died, leaving his heir a minor, the empire, during the short reigns of Mohammed and Ibrahim, was distracted by dissensions among the royal family, and by the revolt of numerous omrahs and viceroys. The friends of Humaioon then assured him, that his appearance with an army in any degree formidable would at

once lay in the dust this ill-cemented dominion. Not being yet very firmly seated on the throne of Cabul, he felt considerable hesitation in answering this call; but at length he mustered 15,000 horse, and marched to the Indus, where Byram, his best general, joined him with a body of veterans from Candahar.

The army having crossed the river, first encountered Tartar Khan, governor of Lahore, whom Byram surprised and defeated. Meantime the Patan omrahs had placed on the throne Secunder, nephew to Shere, a prince qualified to lead them with vigour and ability. Having assembled 80,000 men, he marched to meet the invader; and the battle was fought with an obstinacy suitable to the great prize for which the parties contended. On the side of the Moguls, it was conducted with energy and prudence by Humaioon and Byram; but it was chiefly distinguished for the splendid heroism exhibited by the young Akbar, then only thirteen, whose example inspired the troops with almost supernatural ardour. The Patan host was at length completely routed and dispersed, and Secunder fled into the mountains of the north, leaving all the fine Plain of Indostan open to the conqueror.

Humaioon advanced to Delhi, and seated himself on his father's throne, from which he had been thirteen years excluded. He mounted it, however, only that he might die upon it; for in less than a year after, descending the marble stairs of the palace, he fell, and was so severely bruised that he expired in a few days. He was a prince, brave, amiable, and learned, and his life was diversified with greater vicissitudes than that perhaps of any other eastern

monarch. These are imputed in a great measure to his excessive lenity, especially towards brothers who ill deserved it; Ferishta even decides, that had he been a worse man, he would have been a greater prince. No example, indeed, can afford a stronger apology for that cruelty which deforms the history of oriental kings. The principle of primogeniture, so firmly established in Europe, has there scarcely any hold on the feelings of the people; and any prince of the blood-royal, who can form a party, or become popular, may cherish the hope of expelling the reigning sovereign, and investing himself with the imperial purple.

In 1556, Akbar began his reign of fifty-one years, during which he proved himself perhaps the greatest and wisest of all the monarchs who have swayed the sceptre of India. Seated, while yet a boy of thirteen, on the throne of so great an empire, he could not find his position very secure. The country teemed with rebellion, raised often by noblemen who had a better right than himself to the provinces for which they contended,—the Patan omrahs, the Rajpoot princes, and sometimes his own discontented officers. These enemies he encountered with a display of talent and heroism somewhat better suited indeed to a knight-errant than to the commander of a great army. Marching to encounter the rebel chiefs of Bengal, he was impatient at finding himself separated from them by the Ganges, without any means of transporting his army across that river. He suddenly conveyed to the other side a hundred chosen horse, and having collected a few adherents in the adjoining district, advanced directly to the attack. The enemy, considering themselves com-

pletely secured in their camp by the broad stream, had been indulging in mirth and festivity; so that the sound of the drums beating the imperial march struck them with amazement and panic, which, as usual in the undisciplined armies of the East, were soon followed by confusion. Akbar immediately rushed against the tents of the rebel commander Zeman, who fell after a gallant resistance; and then the whole of his immense host, deprived of its head, fled in irretrievable rout before a handful of assailants.

At another time, Akbar received intelligence that some Mogul chiefs had raised a rebellion in Guzerat, and besieged Ahmedabad, the capital. He instantly despatched from Agra two thousand cavalry, whom he himself followed with a chosen troop, and marching at the rate of eighty miles daily, reached in nine days the scene of action. When the enemy's scouts, who, inquiring whose army it was, were informed that it was led by the king of kings, brought the intelligence to their camp, the rebel troops, struck with this event as almost miraculous, were with difficulty withheld from immediate flight. They were, however, marched to the field; where, after a brisk action, they were completey defeated, and their commander taken. Akbar, while his soldiers were engaged in the pursuit, remained with 200 men on the top of a hill, where he saw advancing against him a body of 5000 horse, whom the enemy had not been able to bring forward to the main action. His officers urged the necessity of instant retreat; but, rejecting this ignoble counsel, he caused the imperial drums to beat, and led on his small detachment as if it had been the van of a

great army. The enemy, thus deceived, fled, and were pursued for several miles. On the same day the emperor entered Ahmedabad, and the insurrection was finally suppressed. On a different occasion, with not more than 150 horse, he attacked the rear of a large detachment, and gained some advantage, which struck the whole host with such astonishment that they broke up and fled in every direction. Having afterwards to contend with Daood, the suba of Bengal, he challenged him to single combat in so daring a manner, that the latter slunk off without venturing to face the emperor in the field.

These proceedings were much out of military rule, and unsuitable to the monarch of fifty millions of men, and the commander of a mighty army. Yet the Hindoos, and the Orientals in general, are wonderfully acted on by impressions of the marvellous, and are prone to exaggerate whatever has any tincture of that quality. The daring exploits of Akbar, therefore, invested him in their eyes with a mysterious and preternatural character, which withered the hearts of his enemies, and secured victory better than the most ably-conducted operations of a regular campaign. Thus he not only preserved the central provinces in complete tranquillity, but reduced Guzerat, Bengal, part of the Deccan, and nearly all that had ever been included under the Mohammedan dominion.

One of the most valuable performances of Akbar was the work called the Ayeen Akberry, containing a complete survey of the empire, executed under his direction and that of Abul Fazel, his able and enlightened minister. It comprises a full account of every thing connected with his dominions, govern-

ment, and occupations, from the highest affairs of state down to the catching of partridges and the training and feeding of hawks; for even the games which served for the emperor's recreation, afforded him, as he boasts, the opportunity of studying the temper of the officers who served under him. The statistical details, describing the extent and productions of the different provinces, are of the greatest value. They seem to have been collected chiefly with a view to the regulation of the revenue, in which respect Akbar represents himself as having relieved the people from a great part of the imposts levied from them by his predecessors. Yet the portion which he himself exacted was by no means light, amounting to no less than a third of the whole produce of the land. He admits that under the ancient Hindoo administration the proportion was only a sixth, in Iran or Persia only a tenth; but these governments, he states, raised a number of other taxes, which pressed on the people with much greater severity. Akbar, on the contrary, took off all the imposts except this one on the produce of land. Among those abolished, he enumerates a capitation-tax, poll-taxes on labourers and on fishermen, imposts on every kind of tree, on oxen, on the sale of cattle, with others either pressing hard on the poor, or obstructing the regular course of commerce. His system of taxation, therefore, notwithstanding its large amount, afforded probably a considerable relief to the great body of his subjects.

During Akbar's reign, the first European mission of a religious nature arrived at the Mogul court. He appears not indeed to have attached himself to any particular faith, but to have felt an ardent curiosity

respecting the different classes into which mankind were divided, and their respective forms of worship and belief. Having heard, therefore, of a new people from a distant region of the earth, professing a religion altogether different from any held in India, he expressed a desire to see and converse with them. A letter was sent to the Portuguese at Goa, requesting that certain missionaries would come with all the books of their law and gospel, assuring them of the most honourable reception. The name of the Mogul conveyed to European ears some impressions of terror; but the pious individuals selected for the duty, determined to allow no such motives to induce them to decline an opening which might lead to important results. On the 3d December, 1568, accordingly, three,—Aquaviva, Monserrate, and Enriques,—took their departure for Surat.

Having reached that capital, the missionaries, under the escort of a body of horse, crossed first the Tuptee and then the Nerbudda; after which they passed Mandoo, which they concluded must have been one of the greatest cities in the world, its ruins covering a space sixteen leagues in circumference. They next came to the large town of Ougein. On their way they had the opportunity of observing the superstitious practices of the Banians, who would neither kill nor see killed any living thing, and who, while they neglected the sick and infirm among their brethren, maintained large and highly-endowed hospitals for various species of birds and beasts. A Portuguese captain contrived to extort money by merely collecting a number of dogs, and threatening to kill them till a high ransom was paid. There were seen also in every town pyramids

of various form and size, reared in memory of ladies who had burned themselves on the tombs of their husbands. The missionaries, from the peculiarity of their appearance and dress, were sometimes exposed to insult, and sometimes excited immoderate bursts of laughter; but the Mogul guard protected them from any serious annoyance. Bands of pilgrims were met coming from the ceremony of holy ablution in the Ganges, to obtain the full benefit of which they had been shaven all over. At length, on the 19th February, the Christians were received by a large body of troops mounted on horses, camels, and dromedaries, by whom they were honourably escorted to Futtypore, where the emperor then resided.

The missionaries were immediately admitted into the presence of Akbar, whom they describe as a man about fifty, of European complexion, and bearing on his countenance strong marks of intelligence. He gave them the most gracious reception; offering them every thing, even money, though he was greatly edified by their refusing it. When an image of the crucifixion was exhibited, he testified a respectful impartiality, by successively bowing, kneeling, and falling prostrate; conforming thus to the respective modes of Moslem, Christian, and Gentoo worship. He is described as having been dazzled, more than his character would lead us to expect, by a richly-ornamented image of the Virgin, which he declared to be indeed a worthy representation of the Queen of Heaven. Being presented with a Bible in four languages, he kissed it and placed it on his head. The missionaries then solicited a public controversy with the mollahs, or Mohammedan doctors. It was soon granted, and they represent their arguments as

having been completely triumphant; though they are compelled to admit that they could make no impression on their blinded antagonists. The emperor, however, declared his satisfaction, and expressed himself so as to afford hope that he would ultimately prove a convert. But time passed on, and though Akbar retained all his complaisance, he evaded, on various pretexts, taking any decisive step. At length one of the courtiers privately assured the missionaries that they were fed with vain hopes; that his majesty was merely gratified by having at his court persons of various characters and opinions, especially such as were odd and uncommon, without having the slightest idea of adopting their faith. Indeed, from some circumstances mentioned by themselves, it may be suspected that Akbar was not unwilling to find amusement at their expense. He informed them that a great Mohammedan doctor had undertaken to leap into a furnace with the Koran in his hand, and by sustaining this awful trial with impunity, to prove the superior excellence of his faith; he invited them to do the same with the Bible. The friars, who were not without some pretensions to supernatural power, were considerably embarrassed by this proposal. They urged, however, that after having so triumphantly supported the truth in successive conferences, which they were ready to repeat, it could not be justly expected that they should expose themselves to such an irrational and perilous test. Another disputation was held, which had the same issue as the foregoing; but the emperor returned to the charge, undertaking that the mollah should leap in first, provided one of the friars would engage to follow; and hint-

ing that he merely wished to see how the other would extricate himself from his daring pretension; but, after deliberation, they wisely determined not to appeal to such a questionable criterion of religious faith. The emperor having been disappointed of this exhibition, and the attractions of novelty having worn off, he saw them more and more rarely; and his attention being finally distracted by insurrections which had broken out in Cabul and Bengal, he seemed wholly to forget his pious visiters; who, finding no longer any motive to protract their stay, returned to Goa in May, 1583.

In 1591, Akbar sent to request another mission; which went through the same round as their predecessors, being welcomed, courteously treated, and finally neglected. Their stay was not of very long duration. Four years after he was again seized with a similar desire, and despatched a letter, with so many promises and kind expressions, that the government could not refuse to gratify him a third time. The court being then at Lahore, the Portuguese were obliged to proceed by Damaun to Cambay, and thence to cross the great Western Desert. Near the city just mentioned, they saw 20,000 persons setting out on a pilgrimage to the Ganges, and were considerably edified by their solemn and serious deportment. The Desert was crossed in company with a numerous caravan, comprising 400 camels, a great body of horsemen, and multitudes on foot. After a dreary march of 220 leagues, the mission came to the banks of a fine river, and on journeying ten leagues farther, reached Lahore, a large and delightful city. They were conducted to the imperial residence, situated on an island in the river,

and were most graciously received. An image of the Virgin, studiously and splendidly adorned, and still more beautiful than that formerly presented, drew forth expressions of the deepest admiration. The hopes of the missionaries were raised still higher when they observed that Akbar showed so little partiality for the Mohammedan religion, that, when in want of money, he made no scruple to plunder the mosques. Yet they were discouraged by observing the assiduous worship which he paid to the sun; they even accuse him of the folly of aspiring to a species of divinity in his own person. He presented himself every morning at a window, and saw the multitude fall prostrate before him; sick infants were also brought to receive his benediction; but perhaps the missionaries mistook for worship the profound testimonies of oriental homage. Finding no prospect of gaining their object, they took advantage of his departure for the seat of war in the Deccan, to accompany the army part of their way to Goa.

Akbar died in 1605, after a reign of fifty-one years. He left only one son, named Selim, a prince of distinguished promise, who somewhat boastingly assumed the title of Jehangire, or Conqueror of the World. A powerful party intended to raise against him Chusero, his own son; but their intrigues were defeated, the prince was compelled to submit, and was forgiven. Soon after, however, having gained fresh adherents, he was encouraged to attempt the same object by force; yet, retaining some good feelings, he indignantly rejected a plan for the assassination of Jehangire, declaring that he would try the fortune of the field, but never ascend a throne

stained with a father's blood. He obtained at first some success, laying waste the country between Delhi and Agra; but being overtaken by a superior army, retreated upon Lahore, near which he was totally routed, and made prisoner in attempting to pass the Indus. Chusero was led before the emperor and confessed his guilt; but with those feelings of honour which seem to have been always strong in his mind, he refused to give any information which might lead to the detection of his accomplices. Being, however, placed in close confinement, he had the agony of being led out day after day to see his dearest friends and most devoted adherents put to death amid the most cruel tortures. He was released ten years after, though only to be assassinated by his brother, Shah Jehan.

Jehangire began his reign with a crime, to which he was impelled by an unhappy combination of circumstances. A young lady, born in the Desert, of poor though noble Tartar parents, was brought to Delhi, where she grew up, and was considered the most beautiful and accomplished woman in India. She received the title of Mher-ul-Nissa, or the Sun of Women, but was afterwards called Noor Jehan, and sometimes Noor Mahal. Jehangire, before mounting the throne, saw and was dazzled with her charms; the passion was mutual, but she had been betrothed to Shere Afkun, a Turkoman noble of distinguished merit, and a tie was thus formed, which, according to Indian ideas, was indissoluble. Akbar honourably, though perhaps not wisely, insisted that his son's passion should not interfere to prevent the completion of the union. But Jehangire no sooner became the ruler of India than he saw the means of

gratifying his guilty inclination. Shere Afkun, however, was so brave and so popular that the emperor durst not openly put him to death, but found it necessary to have recourse to the meanest stratagems. He contrived to involve him in combats with an elephant and a tiger, under such circumstances as seemed to ensure his fate; but Shere, in both instances, extricated himself by exertions of almost preternatural strength. At length a nobleman, whose name was Kuttub, received the high office of Suba of Bengal on the base condition of ridding the emperor of this hated rival. Yet forty assassins employed for this purpose were beaten off, and it was necessary to make the attack with a little army. Even then Shere performed prodigies of valour, slew Kuttub himself, his worthless enemy, as he sat on an elephant, together with several of his principal lords, and was overpowered only by clouds of darts. The fair but ambitious object of this execrable policy submitted meekly to her fate; but Jehangire, to whose temper crime so atrocious seems not to have been congenial, was struck with such horror, that for four years he refused to see her, and she lived neglected in a corner of the palace. At length she contrived to rekindle his passion, and became his favourite queen. All her relations were raised to the highest offices, her father becoming grand vizier. Happily he possessed every quality which could adorn that high rank; his elevation excited no envy, and though Jehangire gave himself up to ease and luxury, India is described as having been well governed.

The reign of this prince was distinguished by the arrival of two English missions; from the narratives

of which we may derive somewhat more precise ideas respecting his court, than from the vague and pompous language of the oriental historians. In 1607, Captain William Hawkins was sent out by the Company, along with Captain Keeling, to endeavour to open a commercial intercourse with India, and especially with the dominions of the Mogul. Hawkins separated from Keeling at Socotora, and arrived at Surat on the 24th August, 1608. He immediately waited on the governor; but was informed that no permission could be granted to land his goods till a communication were held with Mocrib Khan, the viceroy, who resided at Cambay. A messenger was presently despatched thither; but in consequence of the heavy rains and inundation of the rivers, an answer did not arrive for twenty days. At the end of this period permission was granted to land, and to buy and sell for the present voyage; but intimation was given at the same time that no factory could be established, nor permanent settlement made, without the sanction of the monarch, which might probably be obtained by proceeding to Agra, a journey of two months. As soon, however, as the goods began to be landed and disposed of, the utmost uneasiness was observable among the native merchants, who, in their conferences with each other, anticipated the most alarming effects from this new rivalry. They were seconded by a Portuguese Jesuit, whose antipathy, both religious and political, led him to make the utmost efforts to ruin the English. One day, Hawkins received the disagreeable intelligence, that two of his boats, on their way between the ship and the shore, had been seized by the Portuguese; whose

commander, on having a remonstrance addressed to him respecting this outrage, did not deign an answer, but spoke to the messenger in the most contemptuous terms of the British monarch, whom he described as a king of fishermen, and master only of an insignificant little island. Hawkins having afterwards met a Portuguese officer, and represented to him the impropriety of this conduct and language, was told that these seas belonged to the King of Portugal, and none were entitled to trade in them without his license. The British captain requested him to convey to his commander a retort at once most indignant and scornful, accompanied with a challenge to single combat, which was not accepted. The boats meantime, with their captured crews and cargoes, were sent to Goa; and Hawkins, instead of seeing any hope of redress from the Hindoo authorities, found reason to believe that the delays which he had endured were contrived solely to enable the enemy to bring forward their vessels, and accomplish their outrageous designs. They now laid wait for him, and attempted to break into his house; nor could he go about his affairs in the city without the danger of being murdered. Lastly, Mocrib himself arrived; but, instead of affording any relief or compensation, only amused himself with picking out from among the English goods whatever appeared desirable, at his own price, which was always most inadequate and very ill paid.

Under these accumulated grievances, Hawkins determined to follow the advice, early given to him, of visiting the Mogul himself at Agra. Mocrib, the author of this suggestion, conscious of the just complaints which might now be urged against him,

had become anxious to prevent the journey. He furnished only a very slender escort, with the intention, it was suspected, of intercepting it on the road; but Hawkins hired soldiers at his own expense, and applied to a captain of the Viceroy of the Deccan, who gave him a body of brave Afghan horsemen. His coachman, however, having got drunk on the road, confessed that he had entered into a covenant to assassinate him,—an engagement into which it was found that the agent or interpreter had also entered. The former being secured, Hawkins arrived at Burhanpoor, the residence of the viceroy, who courteously received and forwarded him to Agra, where he arrived on the 16th April, 1609. As he was inquiring for lodgings, the king sent for him in such haste that he had scarcely time to dress. On repairing to the palace, he found Jehangire elevated on his "seat royal," and presented his letter, which, as well as the king's seal, the monarch for some time carefully examined. He then desired it to be read by an old Jesuit who happened to be present. That personage gave a very unfavourable report, saying "it was basely penned;" but the emperor, finding his visiter could speak Turkish, had begun a conversation which pleased him highly. Hawkins was invited to visit the palace daily, and the emperor held long discourses with him, making inquiry respecting the different countries of Europe, and also the West Indies, the existence of which it seems he had been taught to doubt. He mentioned having understood that the English had been ill-treated by Mocrib Khan, to whom the most positive orders were now sent, to supply them with every thing necessary for their trade. The emperor then earnestly re-

quested Hawkins to remain in India till he himself could send an embassy to Europe, assuring him of an income of upwards of £3000 a-year, to be derived, according to Indian usage, from a command of four hundred horse, and a district of which he was to receive the revenues. Hawkins considering with himself that he might thus benefit his masters, the Company, and also "feather his own nest," allowed himself to be persuaded. He was then urged, in addition to so many other donations, to accept a wife. After what had passed, he thought it almost impossible to refuse the offer, though it was much against his inclination; but he hoped to escape by saying that his conscience would not allow him to marry any but a Christian, trusting that none such would be found in this quarter of the world. However, Jehangire's search was so diligent that he produced a young Armenian maiden, with whom the captain could not refuse to unite his fates; and to this union, though he afterwards found that it was not legal in England, he honourably adhered, and declares that it made him extremely happy.

Hawkins being now in the full stream of favour, and learning that another vessel, the Ascension, was coming to Surat, had no difficulty in obtaining the emperor's commission, under his great seal with golden letters, authorizing the English to trade. His satisfaction was complete when, in consequence of accumulated complaints from other quarters, his arch-enemy Mocrib was summoned to court, and punished with the confiscation of all his effects. These were so excessively numerous, that it afforded for two months a daily task to the emperor to examine them and select the best for his own use. Hawkins

had the satisfaction of pointing out several articles which he himself had lodged as presents for his imperial majesty, though they had never reached their destination.

But the tide of royal kindness had now reached its height, and from this moment began to ebb. Mocrib, after being stripped of his most valuable property, was restored again to favour, and allowed to resume his government; being simply exhorted to conduct himself with greater circumspection; and before his departure he took care to do the English every ill office in his power. All those who were about the emperor,—the omrahs, the officers of state, the Jesuits and other Portuguese, united with him in their endeavours to undermine the influence enjoyed by a stranger and an infidel. It was represented to Jehangire, that by opening his trade to this strange people he would altogether disgust the Portuguese, a much more opulent and powerful nation, who would not only themselves desert his ports, but were able to prevent others from entering them. These arguments, enforced by a balass ruby of uncommon size and splendour, so wrought upon the prince, that he exclaimed, "Let the English come no more!" and Mocrib departed with the instruction never again to allow them to touch his shores. Hawkins did not directly venture to face this tempest. He allowed his enemy to leave; and when the suspicions of the unfriendly cabal had been somewhat lulled, watched his opportunity, presented himself before the king with a splendid *toy*, as he terms it, and urging the great advantages which his kingdom might derive from the proposed commercial inter-

course, obtained an order for the vizier to prepare a decree, in terms as ample as the former, in favour of the English. These tidings were immediately circulated throughout the hostile faction; an express was despatched to Mocrib, and such activity exerted, that after the decree had been sealed and was ready to be delivered, Jehangire was persuaded to withhold it. The succeeding transactions continued to present the same woful picture of imbecility and vacillation. When the captain could find a friend at court, or seize a favourable moment, or present some splendid gift, he appeared again on the eve of having all his wishes accomplished; but the activity of his adversaries always produced a speedy reverse. During the whole of this time he suffered much annoyance from Abdul Hassan, the prime minister and his mortal enemy, who at court carefully excluded him from the space within the red rails, the scene of honour, and the spot where opportunities of conversing with the monarch usually occurred; and though he could not altogether withhold the grant of territory made for Hawkins' subsistence, he contrived to allot it in districts so disturbed by insurrection, that little or no revenue could be drawn from them. After two years and a half, therefore, of sickening and fruitless attendance, the English captain determined to take his leave. On the 2d November, 1611, he departed, not only without the long-sought-for confirmation of commercial privileges, but even without a letter to his own king;—having some time before, with the deepest indignation, heard from Abdul Hassan, that it was unsuitable to the greatness of the Mogul emperor to write to so petty a prince.

A few years after, it was determined to make an attempt to place the British affairs in India on a more satisfactory footing, by sending out an embassy direct from the king, with ample presents and all such circumstances of pomp as might produce an impression on the proud oriental potentate. Sir Thomas Roe accordingly sailed from Gravesend on the 24th January, 1615, with the Lion and Peppercorn, commanded by Captains Peyton and Boughton. After passing along the eastern coast of Africa, and touching at Socotora, he arrived in September at Surat, where he was landed in great pomp, with eighty men-at-arms. By asserting his privileges as ambassador of a powerful monarch, he escaped in a great measure the "barbarous search," as well as various exactions usually practised on merchants. On the 15th November he reached Burhanpoor, and had a splendid audience of Prince Purvez, second son to the sultan, who in this place represented the Mogul sovereignty, though the real power rested with Khan Channa, commander of the forces. The young viceroy is described as mounted on a species of stage, like the mock-kings at a theatre; and the ambassador expressing a wish to go up, was told that neither the Grand Turk nor the King of Persia could be so honoured. On his requesting a seat, he was told no man ever sate in that place. The prince, however, promised to admit Sir Thomas presently to a more private audience; but unluckily, among other gifts, the prince had received a case of bottles, of which he made such diligent use as to be soon wholly out of a condition to fulfil his engagement.

As the Mogul sovereign was then resident at Aj-

mere, Roe proceeded thither through the country of the Rajpoots. On his way he admired the situation of Chittore, which he compares to a tomb of wonderful magnificence. Above a hundred temples, many lofty towers, and houses innumerable, were seen crowning the lofty rock on which it stood; but it was at this time entirely deserted. On the 23d December, Sir Thomas arrived at Ajmere, but did not go to court till the 10th January, 1616, when he waited on the emperor at the durbar, or place of public audience. He delivered the royal letter and presents, and met a reception so cordial, that he was assured no other ambassador, either Turk or Persian, had ever obtained the like. At the next interview he was allowed, and ever afterwards retained, a place higher than that of all the courtiers; and being permitted to state the grievances which the English trade suffered at Surat and Ahmedabad, was assured that these should be fully redressed. Many other interviews followed, and much familiar and even jocular conversation passed between the ambassador and the monarch. Sir Thomas for some time fondly hoped to obtain all his demands, but soon found himself opposed by the same hostile cabal that had caused so many reverses to Hawkins. Mocrib Khan, the rooted enemy of England, was at court, where he was supported by Asiph Khan, who had now succeeded as prime minister, and by Churrum, afterwards Shah Jehan, then the favourite son of Jehangire. It was surprising how he could at all maintain his ground against such powerful adversaries; they produced continual fluctuations in the mind of this inconstant prince; but the ambassador's address and perseverance at last

enabled him to procure a firman, though not of that ample and liberal tenor which had been promised and expected. He even received a letter to the British sovereign, addressed, "Unto a king rightly descended from his ancestors, bred in military affairs, and clothed with honour and justice."

During his stay, Sir Thomas had a good opportunity of observing the pomp and ceremonies of this court, the most splendid perhaps that ever dazzled the eyes of mankind, though scarcely possessing a corresponding share of polish and refinement. A remarkable degree of publicity, and even popularity, seems to have distinguished all its proceedings. The emperor spent as it were his whole life in public. In the morning he came to a window overlooking a wide plain, and exhibited himself to a numerous crowd there assembled. At noon he returned to the same place, where he was entertained with combats between wild beasts, particularly elephants. In the afternoon he seated himself in the durbar, the regular place of audience for all who presented themselves on business. At eight in the evening he once more appeared in an open court, called the Guzel Khan, where he spent the time chiefly in gay and easy conversation with his favourites. In the durbar, the royal throne was surrounded by two successive railings, the innermost of which enclosed a place for the ambassadors, officers of state, and persons of the first distinction. The outer space was filled with chiefs of secondary dignity; while a wide open area at a greater distance was assigned to the multitude; all of whom, however, enjoyed a full view of his majesty's person. To this routine the emperor was com-

pletely enslaved, and could not be excused for a single day, unless he were sick or drunk, which it was necessary to explain; "two days no reason can excuse." All the state-proceedings and ordinances were equally public, being daily written down, and allowed to be perused for a trifling fee. Thus every event and resolution was immediately known to all the people; and even Sir Thomas' English feelings were scandalized by seeing the most secret councils of the prince, and his changeful purposes, "tossed and censured by every rascal."

Our traveller, on several occasions of gayety and festival, had an opportunity of beholding the full pomp of the Mogul court. It chiefly consisted in the immense profusion of precious stones, which this sovereign made it his aim, by presents, purchase, or plunder, to collect from every quarter. The person of the king on high occasions was not only covered, but completely laden with diamonds, pearls, and rubies. Even the elephants, when they went in procession, besides having all their trappings richly gilded, had their heads adorned with valuable jewels. The ambassador was particularly dazzled, after the emperor had taken the field, with the range of the royal tents surrounded by a wall half a mile in circuit. Those of the nobles exhibited the most elegant shapes and brilliant variety of colours. He declares it "one of the greatest rarities and magnificences" he ever saw, the whole vale resembling a beautiful city. But amid all this show we see few or no traces of any refined or intellectual tastes. On the sovereign's birth-day, his chief amusement was to take two boxes, one full of rubies, and the other of gold and silver almonds, and scatter them on the ground in

presence of his omrahs; when these mighty lords of the greatest court in the world threw themselves on the floor and scrambled for them as children do for sugar-plums. On another occasion, much delight was afforded by the "royal weighing," at which time the emperor's person, arrayed in full pomp, was put into the scales, first against rupees, then against gold and jewels, next against rich cloths and spices, and, lastly, against corn, meal, and butter. Intoxication, carried to the utmost excess, completed the circle of court gayeties.

The view given by both these travellers of the character of Jehangire scarcely accords with the high panegyrics pronounced by the oriental writers. His facility and kindness of temper appear combined with so much of weakness and vacillation as nearly to have unfitted him for conducting the concerns of so great an empire. Sir Thomas seems to describe him accurately, by saying:—"He is of so good a disposition, that he suffers all men to govern, which is worse than being ill." His justice and, more particularly, his hatred of injustice, which Dow so highly extols, becomes somewhat equivocal, when we find it chiefly displayed in confiscating to his own use the goods of suspected individuals. After having pronounced Mocrib Khan guilty, and seized his most valuable possessions, there was a strange inconsistency in restoring him to his government and to full confidence, and being swayed by his advice on the most important occasions. It is difficult to know whether we should ascribe to superstition or policy the absurd caresses which he was seen to bestow on a miserable fakir or beggar, whom he conversed with for an hour, took in his

arms and assisted to rise, and into whose lap he finally poured a hundred rupees.

The last years of the life of Jehangire were spent in much misery; and it was still his fatal passion for Noor Jehan by which they were imbittered. This fair but haughty favourite governed him entirely, misled his easy temper, and alienated him from his best friends. The belief prevailed, apparently not without foundation, that she was studying to raise to the throne Shariar, her own son, to the prejudice of the elder branches of her husband's family; and this was at least the alleged motive of the formidable rebellion raised against the emperor by Shah Jehan, the ablest of his children, who had gained great reputation and influence by a successful war in the Deccan. That prince, by another crime, paved his way to the throne. Chusero, his elder brother, whose rebellion had chequered the opening of Jehangire's reign, was released from his long confinement, and placed under Shah Jehan's care. One morning his favourite wife entered his tent and found him weltering in his blood, shed by an assassin. She filled the camp and city with her cries: Shah Jehan repaired to the spot, and by the deep concern he expressed, escaped at first all suspicion; yet his father and the public became afterwards convinced that the guilt of this murder rested upon his head.

Jehangire, in the dangerous situation in which he was now placed, had, however, a faithful friend and servant, Mohabet Khan, who supported his crown with devoted zeal, and whose valour gained for him repeated victories over the rebellious Shah Jehan. Even when that prince repaired successively

to Guzerat and Bengal, where he succeeded in raising several new armies, Mohabet still pursued him, and at last reduced his affairs to a desperate condition. When this commander, however, had returned to court, expecting the gratitude due for such signal services, he found a complete change in the sentiments of his sovereign. Noor Jehan, never ceasing to be the evil genius of Jehangire, joined with other enemies in making him believe that this virtuous guardian of his throne had entered into a conspiracy for his deposition. Mohabet, soon learning how affairs stood at court, determined not to sacrifice himself by obeying the order to repair thither, but withdrew to his castle at Rintimpour. At length, after urgent and repeated calls, he went towards the seat of government, but accompanied by 5000 brave Rajpoot cavalry, whom he deemed sufficient to secure his personal safety. He found the emperor encamped near Lahore; but on approaching the tents, met the most unworthy reception, being ordered to advance no farther till he had accounted for the revenues and the plunder which had come into his possession. Mohabet was virtuous, but proud; hence his indignation was raised to the highest pitch. He contrived, and immediately executed a truly bold scheme. The army, now on its march to Cabul, crossed next day the bridge over the Jelum, while the emperor, who dreaded nothing, lingered behind with a small party of courtiers. Mohabet then pushed forward with his Rajpoots, caused one detachment to secure the bridge, while with another he dashed on to the tent of the monarch. Surrounded by five hundred of these troops, who had alighted in full armour, he entered

with a countenance pale but determined. The omrahs at first made some show of resistance, but yielded as soon as they saw the strength of the force which assailed them. Mohabet, after some search, found Jehangire in the bathing-tent, when the latter immediately said, "What dost thou mean, Mohabet Khan?" The other replied, "Forced by the machinations of my enemies, who plot against my life, I throw myself under the protection of my sovereign." Being asked the object of the armed troops behind him, he answered, "They want full security for me and my family, and without it they will not retire." Jehangire denied having entertained any design against his life, and endeavoured to sooth him; when Mohabet observed that this was his usual hour of hunting, and that a horse was in waiting. The emperor saw the necessity under which he was placed, and went, accompanied by a guard of valiant Rajpoots.

Meantime Noor Jehan, with her brother, Asiph Khan, the prime minister, had passed with the main body of the army to the opposite side of the river. It is easy to imagine the consternation and rage of that proud princess on learning the disaster which had befallen her husband. After consultation, it was determined, at whatever peril, to attack Mohabet, and make a desperate effort for the emperor's release. The river, however, was to be crossed in the face of the hostile Rajpoots; but Noor Jehan, to encourage her troops, rode into the stream, exposed herself in the thickest of the conflict, and emptied four quivers of arrows against the enemy. Three of her elephant-drivers were killed; her youthful daughter, who accompanied her, was wounded in the arm. The Rajpoots, however, attacked the enemy's parties as they

reached the shore, and successively defeated them. At length a large body, headed by the most gallant of the omrahs, crossed at a different point, and came upon Mohabet's rear. They penetrated nearly to the emperor's tent, which was pierced with numerous arrows, and his person was only secured by being carefully covered with shields. But Mohabet finally restored the battle, and gained a complete victory. Noor Jehan fled to Lahore; whence, by letters from Jehangire, she was induced to repair to his camp. Under these circumstances, we know not how to justify the resolution formed by the conqueror of putting her to death. He even extorted the emperor's warrant to that effect; but the artful princess, pretending to submit to her fate, solicited one last interview with her lord; which the general granted, on condition that it should take place in his own presence. She entered and stood before her husband in deep silence, "her beauty shining with additional lustre through her sorrow." Jehangire burst into tears, and entreated so earnestly for the life of his beloved queen, that the victorious chief was overcome, and granted his request.

Mohabet now carried his sovereign into Cabul, treating him with the highest respect, maintaining the full pomp of his court, and allowing him to transact all the ordinary affairs of state. At length, having obtained the most ample promises of oblivion and future favour, he proved his disinterestedness by resigning his power, setting the monarch at full liberty, and retiring into a private station. But he had gone too far to recede with safety. The emperor, indeed, was capable of forgiving, and even forgetting; but the deepest resentment rankled in

the mind of Noor Jehan, who soon began to demand the life of Mohabet, though the former had sufficient sense of justice to repel her proposal with indignation. She then proceeded to form plots for effecting her object by treachery. The emperor, on learning these designs, gave information to the intended victim, at the same time owning his inability to afford the protection to which the other had so just a claim. It was evident, therefore, that no choice was left him but to fly; and the man who had so lately been the real master of this great empire became a solitary fugitive, after abandoning all his property. Noor Jehan immediately seized it, and in his absence obtained an entire sway over the mind of the weak emperor; Mohabet was declared a rebel, a price set upon his head, and a diligent search ordered to be made for him through all the provinces.

Asiph, the reigning minister, disapproved of his sister's violence, and of the questionable measures into which she urged the emperor,—but knew not how to resist. One evening after dark he was informed that a man in a mean dress besought an audience. With wonder and sympathy, he saw before him the chief who had so lately been the ruler of India. They withdrew into a secret cabinet; and Asiph having acknowledged his sister's intemperance and the miserable weakness of Jehangire, Mohabet urged, that the only chance for having the empire governed with a firm hand, would be obtained by raising to the throne Shah Jehan, the same man of whom he himself had so long been the persevering and successful enemy. Asiph Khan, after some consideration, concurred in his views, and a communication with the prince was immediately

opened; but several circumstances suspended the execution of the project till it was rendered unnecessary by the illness of the emperor. An asthmatic complaint under which he laboured being severely aggravated by a residence in the cold climate of Cashmere, he expired on the 9th November, 1627, leaving behind him a very doubtful reputation.

Jehangire left only two sons, Shah Jehan and Shariar, to the latter of whom he had bequeathed the throne; but Mohabet and Asiph Khan took immediate steps for the elevation of the former, and before that prince could arrive from the Deccan, his brother was defeated, taken prisoner, and deprived of sight. The new emperor, on reaching the capital, immediately adopted the most dreadful expedients to secure himself against a rival. He caused not only his brother, but all his nephews who were alive, to be put to death; and there remained not a drop of the blood of Timur, except what flowed in his own and his children's veins. This horrible tragedy has been palliated as founded on oriental precedent; yet though in these courts fraternal enmities have usually been fatal, India had afforded no instance of such a fearful and sweeping proscription. Nor could Jehan fail to foresee that the guilty example was likely to be followed, if not against himself, as it actually was in some degree, at least against those in whose welfare he was deeply interested.

He did not even escape the danger of an immediate competitor for the empire. Lodi, an omrah of distinguished spirit and valour, and who boasted a descent from the Patan emperors of India, had been employed as commander of the army in the Deccan. In this capacity he was opposed to Shah

Jehan, and having, when the throne became vacant, attached himself to Shariar, obstructed and even insulted the new sovereign on his way to Agra. The prince sent an army against him, but with liberal offers in case of submission. Lodi laid down his arms, and was appointed to the government of Malwa; whence, on a mandate from the imperial court, he repaired to the capital. At the royal audience, however, he was received with such marked disrespect, as showed that some hostile purpose was meditated. Azmut his son even drew his sword; a tumult ensued, and Lodi hastened to his own house, which was capable of some defence, where he shut himself up with three hundred followers. Thus enclosed, however, in the midst of enemies, his situation seemed desperate, and he was agitated with the most perplexing emotions. Suddenly a scream was heard from the apartment of the females,—he rushed in, and saw them weltering in their blood. In the prospect of captivity and dishonour, with that desperate fidelity not unfrequently displayed by Hindoo females, they had plunged a sword into their own breasts. The mind of Lodi was worked up almost to frenzy. He rushed on horseback with his two sons, caused his men to follow him sounding trumpets, while he himself called aloud, "I will awaken the tyrant with the sound of my departure, but he shall tremble at my return." A hot pursuit was immediately commenced; yet he would have distanced his pursuers, had not the stream of the Chumbul, then flowing rapidly and swollen by heavy rains, arrested his progress. Overtaken by a greatly superior force he was obliged to plunge into the stream, and reached the opposite

shore, but not without losing the greater number of his followers, among whom was Azmut his favourite son. He pushed onward, however, to the Deccan, where he openly raised the standard of rebellion, and, besides collecting his own adherents, engaged the kings of Golconda and Visiapour to enter into a league against the Mogul, by whose overwhelming power they had long been oppressed. Shah Jehan was so deeply alarmed that he hastened to the theatre of war; but not being disposed to take the field in person, yet afraid to intrust the sole command to any single chief, he sent detached corps under Eradut Khan and other generals to attack the confederates at different points. Lodi being nominated generalissimo, conducted his operations with such valour and skill that he baffled all the efforts of the invader. Shah Jehan, greatly mortified, at length committed the entire conduct of the war to Asiph Khan, who brought to it talents and a reputation of the first order. His very name struck the confederates with such terror that they immediately retreated. Lodi, with only the troops personally attached to himself, determined to try the fortune of battle; but it proved adverse. The King of Golconda instantly began to treat with the emperor; and Lodi, well aware that the first article would be the delivery of his own person, lost no time in withdrawing from his territory. Shah Jehan endeavoured to shut against him all the passes leading into Indostan; yet the fugitive chief evaded all his precautions, and with a chosen band, who remained faithful in every extremity, found his way into the high country of Malwa. The emperor immediately directed Abdallah, one of his officers, to pursue him

with ten thousand horse. Lodi, weakened by the attacks which he encountered in his march, at length found this powerful body pressing close behind; while Mohammed Azâz, his eldest son, had fallen in endeavouring to cover his retreat. His troop was reduced to thirty, so closely hemmed in as to exclude all hope. Seeing a strong detachment of the enemy advance, he called together these faithful followers, and after expressing the warmest gratitude for their adherence to him amid so many calamities, begged as a last favour that they would no longer cling to a cause devoted to ruin, but each seek his own safety. They burst into tears, and declared their determination to share his fate to the last. Lodi silently gave the signal to follow, and spurred his horse against the enemy. A ball pierced his breast, and his thirty gallant companions fell around him. Shah Jehan received the tidings with unbounded exultation, not tempered with the generous sympathy which was due to the valour and misfortunes of his fallen rival.

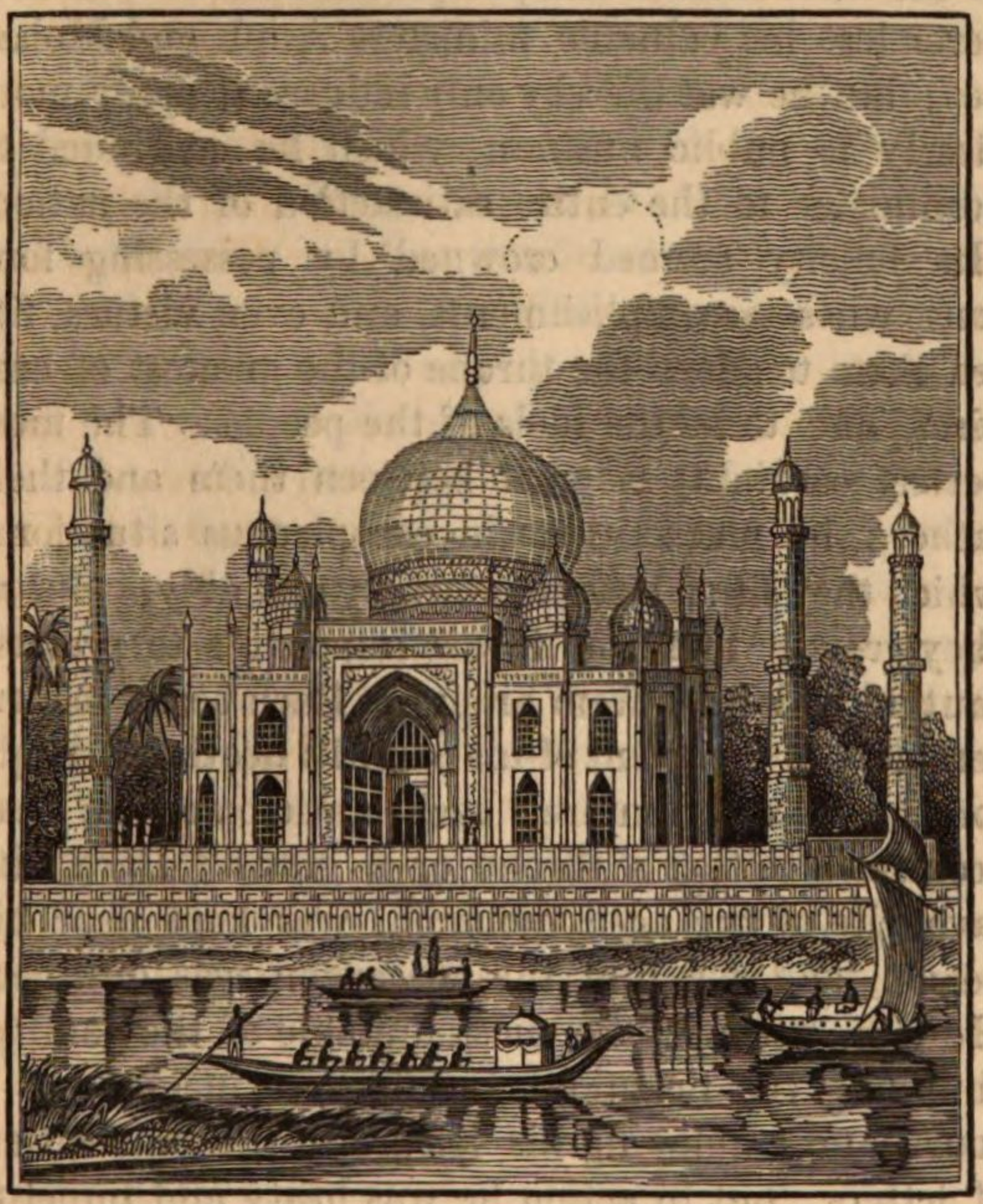
The emperor, thus secured in the possession of the sceptre, added another to the list of princes who, after seizing it by crimes and violence, wielded it with firmness and justice. The sternness of his temper was now employed in overawing the haughty viceroys, and guarding the people against oppression. He derived, doubtless, much aid from the wise counsels of Asiph Khan and Mohabet, whom, amid some paroxysms of jealousy, he continued to employ. Sometimes their intercession softened the extreme rigour of his justice, particularly in the case of the Rajah of Bundelcund, whom he had ordered for execution. When Mohabet pleaded for

the life of the guilty chief, the monarch not only granted it, but restored him to his full dignity. At one time, though wholly indifferent to the Mohammedan religion, he was so provoked by the manifold absurdities of the Hindoo worship, that he began to make it an object of persecution; but, seeing the eagerness with which the people clung to their proscribed ritual, he became sensible of his error, and resumed the system of toleration which his family had been accustomed to extend to both creeds.

Had there been a theatre open for foreign conquest, Shah Jehan would probably have been ambitious of that glory; but the empire was now so extensive, and all its enemies at so great a distance, that such projects must have been carried on under many disadvantages. He led armies, however, into the Deccan, and reduced its princes to a still humbler state of vassalage than before. He also sent expeditions against Candahar and Balkh, on the western and north-western frontiers; but the war was waged with difficulty in those remote and mountainous regions, while the vigorous rule of the Persian princes, Abbas and Sefi, rendered it impossible to make any permanent impression in that quarter. On the east, indeed, he added to the empire the rude province of Assam,—a precarious acquisition of no very great value.

To this prince India is indebted for the most splendid and elegant monuments of architecture with which it is any where adorned. At New Delhi, which he made his residence, and called, from himself, Shah Jehanpoor, he erected a palace of red granite, considered by Bishop Heber as one of the noblest he ever saw, and far superior to the

Kremlin at Moscow. The gateway in particular is finely ornamented.* The Jumma Musjeed, too, in the same city, is a magnificent mosque, not excelled by any other in India. But all his erections were surpassed by the mausoleum called the Taj Mahal, raised at Agra in honour of Noor



Jehan, his favourite queen. It is built of white marble, inlaid with precious stones, and forms a quadrangle of 190 yards, with a lofty dome 70 feet

* See plate at the end of this chapter.

in diameter rising from the centre. It stands on an elevated terrace, surrounded by a highly-cultivated garden. The construction is said to have cost £750,000; and the Taj Mahal is generally considered the finest edifice in the empire.

This reign flowed on for more than twenty years in the most smooth and prosperous tenor. The emperor lost his valuable ministers Asiph and Mohabet; but he was thereby only induced to apply more closely to public business, which he continued to administer to the entire satisfaction of the nation. His felicity seemed crowned by possessing four sons, whose accomplishments, and even virtues, fitted them to adorn the throne of the greatest of empires, and to be the idols of the people. The most perfect cordiality reigned between them and their father; he placed them in conspicuous situations, which they filled both honourably and ably. But as they grew to manhood it was impossible to prevent mutual jealousies from arising. Each began to contemplate in the event of his parent's death a struggle for the vacant empire; each anticipated on that occurrence either a throne or a grave. Dara, the favourite of the aged monarch, was kept near his person, and for him the succession was destined. He was, perhaps, the most amiable of the family, shunning the licentious indulgences incident to a court, and employing his leisure in the cultivation of letters; but in action he was hasty and impetuous. Sujah, voluptuous, yet mild and also brave, held the government of Bengal. Morad, magnificent, proud, daring, delighting in war and danger, commanded in Guzerat. There was yet a fourth, of a character very different from that of his brothers, or

from what is usually found in the bosom of royalty. Aurengzebe maintained a grave and reserved deportment, rejecting pleasure, and devoting himself to business and public affairs with an intensity like that of one who was to raise himself from a low condition by his own exertions. Another feature gave a peculiar stamp to his character and destiny. The princes of the house of Akbar had scarcely made even a profession of the Mohammedan faith, though it was zealously maintained by their armies and great lords. They seem to have viewed religion itself with a careless indifference, chiefly as a subject of philosophical speculation, and studiously avoided making it any ground of distinction among the various classes of their subjects. Aurengzebe, on the contrary, had adopted the Moslem creed in all its rigour; he conformed strictly to its observances, and professed himself more ambitious of the character of a saint and fakir than of a prince. He thereby made himself odious to the Indian population; but the Moslem chiefs, who wielded the military power, hailed the appearance of a prince that had renounced the scandalous indifference of his ancestors, and identified himself with them upon this important subject. Having commanded also for a long time the troops in the Deccan, the main theatre of war, Aurengzebe was at the head of a better-disciplined army, and had acquired more military skill, than any of his brothers.

This state of things, however painful and alarming, might have been of long duration, had not a sudden and severe illness seized the emperor. He continued insensible during several days, and no hopes were entertained of his recovery. Dara, by his

direction, immediately assumed the government, and administered it as if he were already emperor. In particular, he showed a suspicious and very jealous feeling towards his brothers, prohibiting all communication with them, seizing their papers, and sending into exile all the omrahs attached to their interest. Thus he precipitated, and in some measure justified, the hostile measures to which they were of themselves but too much disposed. Notwithstanding every precaution they obtained the intelligence of their father's illness, and were even led to suspect that he was already dead. They immediately entered upon a line of conduct, professedly prompted not by ambition but by regard for their personal safety. Sujah, in Bengal, first put his troops in motion; and soon after Morad, in Guzerat, communicated to Aurengzebe the recent events, inviting him to unite in counteracting the obvious designs of Dara;—in which views that ambitious prince readily concurred.

Meantime Shah Jehan, beyond all expectation, obtained a complete recovery, and Dara, in the most dutiful manner, resigned back into his father's hands the reins of empire. This intelligence was instantly conveyed to Sujah, and a hope expressed that the measures which he had taken, solely in anticipation of the emperor's death, would be discontinued. But he had gone too far; the flame of ambition was kindled in his breast; he affected disbelief of the statement, and even treated as forgeries the letters which the sovereign wrote to him with his own hand. Being met, however, on the banks of the Ganges by Solimân, the son of Dara, a young prince of distinguished talents, he

was totally defeated, and obliged to shut himself up in the fortress of Monghir, where he was closely invested. Meanwhile the expedition from the south assumed a more formidable character.

Aurengzebe lost no time in obeying the invitation of his brother, and hastened to join him with all the forces he was able to collect. But, conscious that he viewed Morad also as a rival, and was likely to excite in his mind a similar feeling, he used every false and flattering expression which could inspire with confidence that naturally open and unsuspicious prince. He professed to consider him as alone fitted for the throne of Indostan, and called to it by the desire of the people; as one to whose elevation it would be his pride to contribute, though his own wish was only to find some tranquil retirement, where he might devote the rest of his days to religious contemplation. Perhaps there was not another individual in Indostan, knowing the parties, who could have been deceived by such language; but so great was the vanity and credulity of Morad, that Aurengzebe knew he might confidently use it. The two princes, with their armies, met on the banks of the Nerbudda, crossed that river, and totally defeated Jesswint Singh, the Rajpoot chief, who, in the service of the emperor, commanded a numerous body of cavalry.

Shah Jehan learned these events with the deepest dismay. He saw the formidable character of the rebellion, and dreaded that, whatever the issue might be, he himself could scarcely fail to be crushed. He therefore bent all his power to support Dara; and even expressed a strong wish to take the field along with him, though he was unfortunately

persuaded to give up his intention. Orders were sent to Solimân to grant favourable terms to Sujah, and to hasten against the more dangerous enemy; and Dara was strongly advised to await his arrival with a large reinforcement. That prince accordingly placed his army, consisting of 100,000 horse, in a strong position along the banks of the Chumbul, commanding the approach to Agra, and covered his camp with a powerful line of intrenchments. When the confederate princes advanced, and saw the imperial force thus posted, they felt considerable embarrassment. Morad, with characteristic ardour, proposed to attempt forcing the lines; but this undertaking appeared too hazardous to the cautious prudence of Aurengzebe. Having obtained information of a pass through the mountains, by which the enemy's position might be turned, and leaving only the appearance of a camp to deceive his adversary, he effected his object, and instantly marched upon Agra. Dara had then only the alternative of abandoning that capital or of giving battle, and his ardent spirit impelled him instantly to prefer the latter. This engagement, which decided the fate of the Mogul empire, is related by historians in a manner very confused, and seemingly much tinged with oriental exaggeration. It is asserted that, after various changes of fortune on either side, the whole of both armies fled from the field, leaving only a thousand horse under Dara, and a hundred under Aurengzebe; and that when the invader had given up all hopes, a retrograde movement by his enemy's elephant, and the circumstance of that commander being induced to dismount, struck dismay into his troops, and caused his total defeat.

The following may perhaps be considered as the real events which marked this important scene. The two principal divisions were commanded by Morad and Aurengzebe, and the former, opposed to Dara, was attacked with such impetuosity, that notwithstanding the most strenuous exertions his line was broken, he himself wounded, and his life in danger. Aurengzebe, meantime, after a very obstinate contest, completely defeated and put to flight the force to which he was directly opposed; then, wheeling round, came to the aid of the other wing, restored the battle, and gained a complete victory.

The confederate armies advanced upon Agra, where Morad being, most conveniently for Aurengzebe, confined with his wounds, the entire command devolved upon himself. His first care was to send an emissary to corrupt the troops of Solimân, in which he easily succeeded, or rather they corrupted themselves by following the usual Asiatic system of going over to the prosperous party. His next anxiety was to obtain possession of his father's person. This was a measure both delicate and difficult, for the fortified palace in which Shah Jehan resided was capable of withstanding a long siege; which, pressed by a son against his parent, a monarch so popular and highly respected, would have placed him in a very odious position. It was most desirable, therefore, to effect his purpose by stratagem; but he had to deal with one versant in all the wiles of policy, and in all the forms of human deceit. Determining, however, to make the trial, he sent a messenger to the emperor, expressing deep regret at the situation in which he was placed, assuring him that he still retained entire the affection of a

son and the loyalty of a subject. Shah Jehan gave very slender credit to these professions, yet he resolved to temporize, and sent his favourite daughter, Jehanara, to visit her brothers, and endeavour to ascertain how affairs really stood. She went first to Morad, who, knowing her to be entirely devoted to the interests of Dara, received her with very slender courtesy. The offended princess entered her palanquin, and was hastening out of the camp when she met Aurengzebe, who saluted her with the utmost kindness and respect, complained of her having held so little communication with him, and prevailed upon her to enter his tent. He there professed the deepest remorse for the conduct into which he had been hurried, and his anxiety by any means to make reparation. He even expressed a willingness to espouse the cause of Dara, were it not that it already appeared quite desperate. Jehanara was thus induced to lay open all the resources of that prince, and to name the chiefs who remained still attached to him, disclosing to her brother many most important state-secrets, of which he afterwards fully availed himself. He then declared himself to be entirely satisfied, promising to second all her views, and that in two days the emperor would see at his feet his repentant son.

Jehanara hastened to her father with this joyful intelligence. But the monarch did not place full reliance on these professions; yet, believing that Aurengzebe really intended to pay him a visit, he determined to avail himself of the opportunity to seize and secure his person. He was not aware that he was playing the game of treachery with one who possessed skill superior to his own. Aurengzebe

sent an humble message, representing that the guilty are always timid,—that being scarcely able to conceive how crimes such as his could be forgiven, he could in no way be reassured, unless his son Mohammed were allowed previously, with a small guard, to enter the palace. Shah Jehan was so bent on his object, and so convinced of Aurengzebe's sincerity, that he hesitated not to agree to this strange proposal. Mohammed entered, who, after being cordially received, stationed his party in a convenient situation. His eager eye soon discovered a large body of troops occupying a very suspicious position. He went to the emperor and stated the apprehension to which this circumstance could not fail to give rise, observing, that unless these men were removed, he must immediately inform his father, who would then probably renounce his intended visit. Shah Jehan, still credulous, and determined to make every sacrifice rather than fail in his object, consented that these troops should quit the palace, thus rendering Mohammed and his party its real masters. Then indeed it was announced that Aurengzebe had mounted his horse and was approaching with his retinue. The emperor seated himself on his throne in the highest exultation, expecting to see the complete accomplishment of his schemes and hopes. He soon learned, however, that Aurengzebe, instead of entering the presence, had proceeded to pay his devotions at the tomb of Akbar. The monarch, considering this as a decided slight to himself, indignantly asked Mohammed, "What means Aurengzebe by this behaviour?" The other answered, "My father never intended to visit the emperor."—"Then why are you here?"—"To take charge of

the citadel." Shah Jehan saw at once the abyss into which he had plunged himself, and burst into a torrent of fruitless invective and self-reproach, which induced his grandson to withdraw. On sober reflection the emperor sent again for him, and, painting the miseries of his own condition, urged the most pressing entreaties that the prince would grant him his liberty, promising in reward even the empire of India, which his influence with the army and people would be sufficient to secure. Mohammed appeared to hesitate for a moment, but then, hastening out of the apartment, turned a deaf ear to every subsequent solicitation.

Aurengzebe had now only Morad to dispose of, and from that quarter he had not much to apprehend. This prince, having recovered of his wounds, had repaired to Agra, and resumed the command of the army. His brother received him with the warmest congratulations, saluted him emperor, and declared all his wishes to be now fulfilled, since he had succeeded in raising so deserving a prince to the throne of his ancestors. For himself he wished only to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, on which he was intent as the commencement of a life to be entirely devoted to religion. Morad, after some affected opposition, gave his consent, thinking himself too happy that his relative should thus voluntarily remove himself. This farce having been successfully acted, the ruin of Morad was secretly prepared; and the design soon became so obvious, that even his credulous spirit could no longer be deceived. His friends assured him that the preparations for the visit to Mecca were sufficient to secure the empire of India; that by address and largesses Aurengzebe

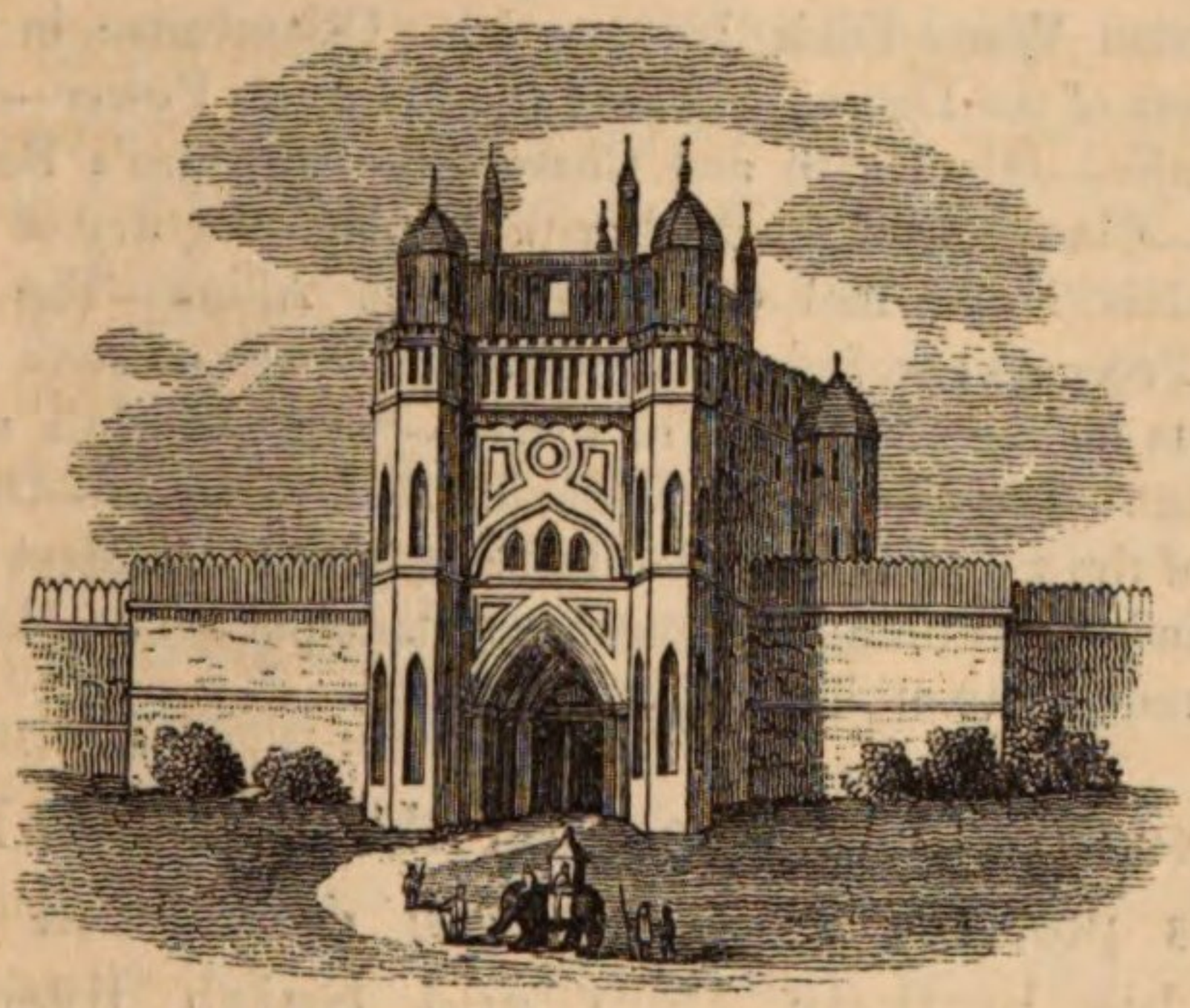
was gaining the affections of the soldiery; and, in short, that no time was to be lost in securing his own safety. Morad, at last undeceived, determined to employ against his brother his own weapons of treachery. He invited him to a splendid banquet where every thing was prepared for his death; but the penetrating eye of Aurengzebe discerning something suspicious, he pretended a sudden illness, and hastily withdrew, without exciting any suspicion of the motive. On the contrary, Morad soon after accepted his invitation to an entertainment in which the finest musicians, and the most beautiful damsels that India could afford, had been studiously assembled. The host, laying aside his austerity, invited to gayety and indulgence this voluptuous prince, who yielded to the seduction, and, after revelling in luxury, fell asleep in the tent. He then sent in a number of his devoted partisans, who proceeded to bind their victim. The prince awoke, made violent efforts to extricate himself, calling for his sword, which had been taken away; when his brother, lifting a curtain, exclaimed,—"He has no choice but death or submission; despatch him if he resists." Morad, after venting loud reproaches, yielded to his fate, and was immediately conveyed a prisoner to Agra.

Aurengzebe, having thus overcome every obstacle, considered it now time "to exalt the imperial umbrella over his head." He felt, however, considerable difficulty in taking a step so inconsistent with all his professions, and especially with that of his being entirely devoted to religious retirement and abstraction. It was contrived that his friends should come forward to urge upon him the important duty of sacrificing his ease and pious resolutions for the

public good, and of submitting to this painful necessity. In due time he allowed himself to be persuaded, though he adhered so far to his former character as to suppress all the pomp with which the ceremony of coronation was usually attended. But the shouts of the people reached the ears of the captive monarch, who felt assured that something fatal to himself had been determined. He asked Jehanara to go and inquire; yet immediately recalled her, lest she should see the head of Dara exposed to public view. She, however, soon learned and communicated to him the real fact. The unfortunate monarch rose, walked through the room in silence, then fixing his eyes on the figure of a crown suspended over his head, said,—"Take away that bauble;—yet stay, this would be owning the right of Aurengzebe." After standing long involved in thought, he said,—"The new emperor, Jehanara, has prematurely mounted the throne. He should have added the murder of a father to the other crimes which have raised him so high." It was now announced that Mohammed wished to be admitted, that he might state the reasons which had induced the victor to accept the crown; but the degraded monarch indignantly replied,—"Fathers have been deposed by their sons; but it was reserved for Aurengzebe to insult the misfortunes of a parent. What motives but his ambition has the rebel for assuming the empire? To listen to his excuses would be to acknowledge the justice of his conduct."

Aurengzebe, smarting under remorse and regret for the step to which his bold ambition had irresistibly impelled him, and who had indeed very little to say in his own defence, did not press the

unwelcome explanation. He had now reached the summit of his wishes, and even deceived or vanquished one of the ablest monarchs of the East. He did not therefore push his triumph any farther, and maintained his father during the rest of his life, in strict confinement indeed, but honoured and respected.



## CHAPTER IX.

*Aurengzebe—Decline of the Mogul Dynasty.*

Aurengzebe opposed by his Brothers, Dara and Sujah—Defeat of Sujah—Capture and Death of Dara—Defection of the Prince Mohammed, who is obliged to surrender—Death of Sujah—Aurengzebe's Treatment of Shah Jehan—His Administration—Defects of Mogul Government—Anecdotes furnished by Bernier—Danger of Persian War—Fakir Insurrection—Disturbance in Cabul—Conquest of the Deccan—Rise of the Mahratta Power—Exploits of Sevajee—His Death and Character—Sambajee's Reign and Death—Character of the Mahratta Armies—Bigotry of Aurengzebe—His Death and Character—Shah Allum—The Seiks—Their Progress checked—Character and Death of Shah Allum—Contests for the Empire—The Syeds—Nizam-ul-Mulk and Saadut Khan—Invasion by Nadir Shah—Sack of Delhi—Distracted State of the Empire—Invasion by the Afghans—Contest between them and the Mahrattas—Battle of Panniput—The Mogul Dynasty reduced to entire Insignificance.

AURENGZEBE was seated on the throne of India; but his position could not be considered secure while his brothers Dara and Sujah lived, and were at the head of powerful armies. The former, from his brilliant qualities, and his designation to the empire by Shah Jehan, inspired the greatest apprehension; and against him the first efforts of the new sovereign were directed. Having withdrawn into Lahore, Dara had collected an army more numerous than that of his adversary, but composed chiefly of new levies, whom he was afraid to bring into the field against his brother's veteran forces.

He therefore retreated beyond the Indus; but retreat in these circumstances, and with such troops, was not less disastrous than actual defeat. His force gradually melted away, and he arrived at Tatta with only a small band of faithful adherents.

It would now have been the policy of Aurengzebe to pursue Dara without intermission till he had completed his destruction; but he was necessarily checked by the intelligence that his brother Sujah, with a large force, was advancing from Bengal. He found this rival very strongly posted near Allahabad; but, trusting to the valour and hardihood of his own troops, he resolved to attack him. Early in the day, however, the Rajpoot bands, who had accompanied him only through compulsion, fled from the field, and even began to assail his rear; so that the Mogul troops, left alone, were soon very hard pressed. The elephant on which Aurengzebe rode received a severe shock, and fell on its knees; whereupon the emperor drew one foot out of the stirrup, preparing to alight,—but, as in an Indian battle the presence of the monarch on his war-elephant is the rallying point round which the army fights, Jumla, the vizier, called out, "You are descending from your throne." The prince felt the truth and importance of the advice, resumed his seat, and even caused the feet of the animal to be chained to the spot. Thus, cased indeed in strong armour, he remained exposed to the darts and arrows of the enemy. His men, encouraged by the gallant example of their chief, rallied, and making the most desperate efforts, caused their opponents to give way. Sujah, finding his elephant disabled, committed the error which his rival had avoided, and mounted a

horse. The view of the royal elephant, moving into the rear without a rider spread general dismay, which ended in a total rout; and the prince found present safety only by throwing himself into the strong fortress of Monghir.

Aurengzebe was again obliged to allow some respite to a vanquished adversary; for Dara, after reaching Tatta, recrossed the Indus, and proceeded through the great desert into the province of Guzerat. There he prevailed upon the governor, whose daughter had been married to Morad, to espouse his cause; and having raised a considerable army, he advanced into Rajpootana, and in the neighbourhood of Ajmere, its capital, intrenched himself in a position of extraordinary strength. Aurengzebe, on hastening thither, saw with dismay the commanding ground on which his brother had encamped. He endeavoured, by presenting his army in order of battle, and even by studied insults, to provoke the proud Dara to come forth and fight; but the prince had the prudence to decline these challenges. The emperor, however, always fertile in stratagem, devised a new scheme. Having in his camp the two chiefs who had been mainly instrumental in gaining over the army of Dara's son, Solimân, he caused them to write a letter to the former, assuring him that they had been induced only by imperious circumstances to forsake his cause, which they were anxious again to embrace; and that if he would leave open a certain gate at a particular hour, they, with all their followers, would enter and place themselves under his command. In vain did the oldest and most prudent counsellors warn Dara of the danger to which this step would expose him, and

of the wiles of Aurengzebe. Rash, credulous, and inaccessible to advice, he allowed himself to be dazzled by the prospect of an accession to his force, which would have given him a complete superiority. The gate was opened at the appointed time; the chiefs rushed in, and were soon followed by the whole imperial army. Dara, too late undeceived, attempted still a gallant, though vain resistance, being totally routed, and obliged to fly with a very small remnant of his troops. He bent his way to the capital of Guzerat, hoping there to find an asylum; but the governor refused him admittance. A band of Mahrattas, his sole remaining troops, seeing his fortunes lost, took the opportunity to plunder the camp, leaving nothing except what was concealed in the tents of the women. Dara was then compelled to undertake, without any preparation, a march across the desert, in a plight still more miserable than that in which the same disastrous journey had been performed by his ancestor Humaioon. Amid the horrors of fatigue and thirst, beneath a burning sun, a number of his faithful followers successively lay down and expired. At the head of a few survivors he reached Tatta, and might thence have pushed on into Persia, where he would probably have been well received; but at this crisis Nadira Bana, his favourite wife, was at the point of death, and he could not endure the thought of leaving this beloved object to expire amid strangers. He sought the hospitality of Jihon Khan, a neighbouring ruler; but this was another of his rash acts. Jihon was a violent and bloody chief, who, after being twice condemned to death by Shah Jehan, had been pardoned at the prince's intercession. Dara had

indeed the melancholy satisfaction of paying the last duties to his sultana; but, on attempting to depart, found himself surrounded by a body of troops, who delivered him to Khan Jehan, the imperial general, then in close pursuit of him. The prince, when he saw his fate inevitable, assumed a demeanour of majestic fortitude, and maintained during the whole journey a calm dignity, soothing his grief by verses composed by himself on his own eventful history. He was led through Delhi miserably equipped and almost in rags. But Aurengzebe had miscalculated the effect of this exhibition. The multitude, when they beheld their once noble and gallant ruler led to death under circumstances so fearfully changed, and beside him his son, a spirited and graceful boy, over whom so dark a fate impended, were seized with the deepest sympathy, and melted into tears, mingled with curses against the tyrant. Jihon, the betrayer, was killed on his way home, while Delhi seemed on the eve of insurrection. The emperor felt that he must hasten to close the tragedy. A band of assassins were introduced in the night, beneath whose blows the unfortunate prince fell after a desperate resistance; and, through the address of the monarch, the commotion in the capital quickly subsided.

Aurengzebe had now only to dispose of Sujah, who, under favour of this diversion, had rallied his broken forces. But as little apprehension was felt in that quarter, it was thought enough to detach against him Prince Mohammed and Jumla the vizier. This expedition, however, received a striking interest from a very unexpected and moving incident. Mohammed had been early betrothed to a daughter of Sujah, for whom he had conceived a strong

attachment; and though in the late tumult of events he had forgotten this youthful impression, a letter which the princess, in concert with her father, now wrote to him, led to a revival of all his tenderness. He determined to quit the army, and espouse the cause of his uncle. It does not seem improbable that he cherished some secret intention of imitating the example of Aurengzebe himself, by fighting his way to the empire. Being highly elated with the part he performed in the late revolution, and the offer made to him by his grandfather, he had often been heard to boast that it was he who placed the crown on his father's head. He fondly flattered himself that the army would follow his example, which, when combined with that of Sujah, would compose a force so overwhelming as to defy all resistance. He embarked on the Ganges, as if upon a party of pleasure, and returned not. The troops, on discovering his intention, were at first greatly agitated; but the prudence and vigour of Jumla preserved their attachment to Aurengzebe, and prevented any desertion. Sujah received his illustrious relative with the highest distinction; and, the nuptials having been celebrated with great pomp, he led out his army and offered battle. Mohammed placed himself in the foremost line, and when he saw the flower of the opposing cavalry bear down upon him, vainly imagined that they came to join his standard. But their fierce onset soon undeceived him. Both he and Sujah behaved with the greatest valour; though the effeminate troops of Bengal could not withstand the veteran forces led by Jumla, who gained a complete victory. Mohammed's situation was now

deeply distressing, and the arts of his father rendered it desperate. Aurengzebe wrote a letter, addressed to him as if in answer to one from himself, treating of a plan for deserting the cause of his father-in-law. It was so arranged that this letter fell into the hands of Sujah, who thereupon conceived suspicions which the most solemn protestations of Mohammed could not remove. No violence was indeed offered to him; but he was informed that he and his wife must depart from Bengal. All India being now under the sway of the relentless Aurengzebe, the prince had no resource but to throw himself upon the mercy of one who never trusted those that had once deceived him. Mohammed was immediately arrested and sent to the strong fortress of Gwalior, where he pined away the remainder of his life, which terminated in seven years. Sujah fled into Arracan, where, betrayed by the rajah, he and all his family perished. Solimân, the son of Dara, was taken prisoner among the Himmaleh mountains, where he had sought refuge; and thus Aurengzebe was left without a rival.

Shah Jehan survived for eight years the loss of empire; and it may be mentioned, to the credit of his ambitious son, and as some palliation of his crimes, that he treated the captive sovereign with the utmost respect and even delicacy, compatible with the condition of being dethroned and immured. He even tolerated the violent sallies of pride and indignation to which his unfortunate parent gave vent. Aurengzebe sent to solicit the daughter of Dara in marriage for his son Akbar, hoping by this connexion to strengthen his family interest with the nobles. Both Shah Jehan and his daughter Jehanara received this

proposal with the deepest resentment. The former returned for answer, that the insolence of the emperor was equal to his guilt; and the young princess herself kept a concealed dagger, declaring that she would rather die a hundred times than give her hand to the son of her father's murderer. All this was reported to Aurengzebe, who quietly desisted from his solicitation. At another time he made a request to his father for some of the imperial jewels, which were deemed necessary to adorn his throne. Shah Jehan replied, that the hammers were ready to pound them into dust, if he should ever attempt to enforce such a demand. The emperor exclaimed, "Let him keep his jewels, nay, let him command all those of Aurengzebe." The old monarch was so much affected by this moderation, that he sent a number of them, accompanied with a letter, in which he said,—"Take these, which I am destined to use no more.—Wear them with dignity, and by your own renown make some amends to your family for their misfortunes." Aurengzebe burst into tears, which appeared to be sincere. In short, by habitual respect and forbearance, and by even asking advice on critical occasions, he succeeded, not indeed in reconciling the fallen monarch to his fate, but in reviving a certain measure of friendly intercourse. On receiving intelligence that his end was approaching, he did not, indeed, venture into his presence, but sent his son Shah Allum, who, however, arrived too late. The emperor then exhibited every mark of undissembled grief, and hastened to effect a reconciliation with his sister Jehanara, who had hitherto remained devotedly attached to her unfortunate father.

Aurengzebe continued many years to occupy the

throne of the Mogul dominion, which, under him, attained to its greatest extent, and its highest glory. After he had added to it the kingdoms of the Deccan, it included nearly the whole peninsula of India, with the neighbouring regions of Cabul and Assam,—territories, the population and wealth of which probably exceeded those of the Roman empire during its most flourishing period. The revenues amounted to 32 millions sterling, which, though inferior to the immense income of some modern European states, was then probably unexampled. His internal administration seems to have been decidedly superior to that of his immediate predecessors. Amid the somewhat ostentatious display and matchless splendour of his court, his personal conduct remained pure and even austere; he neither allowed to himself, nor permitted in his court, any species of disorder or licentiousness. Early in the morning he was seated in the hall of justice, accessible to the meanest of his subjects, administering the law with the strictest impartiality, redressing their wrongs, and even relieving their sufferings by his bounty. India, therefore, under his long reign, apparently enjoyed all the happiness of which a country is susceptible in a state of subjection to the despotic power of a foreign prince. Indeed, were we to place implicit reliance in the Mohammedan historians, and in the English writers who copy their narratives, we should imagine the period from the accession of Akbar to the death of Aurengzebe to have been for India an age of gold, an era of felicity almost unparalleled in the history of mankind. It is not indeed to be denied, that during all this time the central regions

enjoyed a considerable measure of peace and prosperity; for the civil wars, though frequent and sometimes tragical, were usually decided in a single battle, and were not accompanied with extensive desolation. On looking narrowly into the subject, however, we shall find reason to suspect that the picture is too flattering, and that the empire during all this period groaned under many of the evils incident to a violent and arbitrary rule. The very fact that, at the time when Britain succeeded to this vast inheritance, the class of cultivators were all sunk into such abject poverty, that it was scarcely possible to discover by what tenure the land had been originally held, seems to invalidate the testimony of those historical eulogists.

It was during the reign of Aurengzebe that Bernier, an intelligent and reflecting traveller, spent some years in India, and applied himself with diligence to investigate the state of the Mogul government and empire. The description he gives is that of a country going to ruin, rather than of one flourishing under a just and impartial government. He observes, that supposing the sovereign inclined to enforce justice, he might perhaps succeed within his own immediate circle, in Delhi, Agra, and the close vicinity of these capitals; but in the provinces and remote districts the people have no adequate protection from the rapacity of the governors, who rule with arbitrary power, and whom he characterizes as "men fit for ruining a world." This was confirmed by the mean garb, and the anxiety to assume the semblance of poverty, which prevailed even among those whom other circumstances proved to be possessed of exorbitant wealth. The people

could appeal to no court of justice, no administrators of the law, no independent tribunals. The monarch himself could call to his service no men endowed with honourable principles, inspired with feelings of genuine loyalty, or identifying their glory with that of their prince. These functionaries were generally "men of nothing, slaves, ignorant and brutal, raised from the dust, and retaining always the quality and temper of beggars." The only object of those intrusted with any power was to amass wealth during the short and precarious tenure of their possession, regardless if afterwards the whole state should fall into ruin.

Even as to the feelings of justice and regard to the rights of their subjects, which are said to have characterized this dynasty, Bernier mentions several particulars, which, agreeing in a remarkable manner with those reported by Hawkins and Roe, tend to throw great doubt upon the panegyrics of native writers. Anecdotes, even of a somewhat familiar description, may illustrate the tone of manners at this oriental court. A young man laid before Shah Jehan a complaint, that his mother, a banian, was possessed of immense wealth, amounting to two hundred thousand rupees, who yet, on account of alleged ill-conduct, withheld from him any share. The emperor, tempted by hearing of so large a fortune, sent for the lady, and commanded her, in open assembly, to give to her son fifty thousand rupees, and to pay to himself a hundred thousand; at the same time desiring her to withdraw. The woman, however, by loud clamour, again procured admittance, and coolly said:—"May it please your majesty, my son has certainly some

claim to the goods of his father ; but I would gladly know what relation your majesty bears to the merchant, my deceased husband, that you make yourself his heir." This idea appeared to Shah Jehan so droll, that he desired her to depart, and no exaction should be made. Such an incident may prove an accessible temper, and a degree of good humour on the part of the sovereign, but gives a very low idea of the general character of that justice which oriental writers are pleased to ascribe to him.

The other anecdote is of a still more odd description. There were in Delhi a class of females called Kencheny, who, though of somewhat doubtful reputation, were not altogether abandoned, and were allowed to contribute to the amusement of this very gay court. A French physician, named Bernard, then resident at Delhi, endeavoured to obtain a young damsel of this class as his mistress ; but her mother, probably from motives of prudence, opposed the connexion. The medical man, however, having gone in the evening to wait upon the Emperor Jehangire, and being about to receive a present in return for a cure which he had effected in the seraglio, pointed to the Kencheny, who happened to be among the multitude paying her court to the prince, and besought, in place of any other gift, that she might be bestowed upon him. His majesty burst into a fit of laughter, and called out, " Lay her on his shoulders, and let him carry her away."—" So said, so done." The young lady was immediately given up to him, and Bernard departed laden with this unlawful booty.

Bernier was among the first to dispel the impression which prevailed in Europe of the mighty and un-

conquerable armies engaged in Mogul warfare. Even the numbers had been greatly exaggerated. The only efficient department was the cavalry, of which the portion immediately attached to the monarch's residence did not exceed 35 or 40,000, nor was it supposed that the whole under his command could much exceed 200,000. The infantry, including the artillery stationed at the capital, might amount to 15,000. The innumerable hosts of foot-soldiers, said to compose the Mogul army, consisted chiefly of servants, victuallers, foragers, and others, who followed in its train, conveying tents, and supplying provisions, cattle, and every thing wanted for the men and officers. This attendance was so numerous that, when the imperial army marched, all Delhi and Agra might be described as proceeding along with it; and, indeed, these cities could be considered as little more than standing camps; while the camps, on the other hand, with their streets of tents and regular markets, might be viewed as moving cities. Still lower was Bernier's estimate of the quality of these troops. Often, it is true, they fought with great bravery; but, being destitute of all discipline, they were frequently struck with panic, and then they became altogether incapable of command. He was persuaded that a force of 20 or 25,000 men, led by a Condé or a Turenne, would easily trample all these barbarian armies under foot,—an anticipation amply fulfilled by subsequent events in the annals of India.

The foreign history of this reign was chiefly distinguished by the danger which threatened the new sovereign of being involved in war with Abbas, the king of Persia, the most powerful and warlike prince

in Asia. Dow, from the Persian historians, represents this rupture between these two mighty potentates to have arisen from the error of a secretary, who addressed a letter, "From the emperor of the world to the master of Persia." On receiving the epistle thus addressed, Abbas, it is said, rejected all explanation and apology, and instantly prepared for war. Such a mistake seems not very probable, much less that a monarch so distinguished for talent and policy, and now of mature age, should have engaged in so formidable a contest on a ground so trivial. Possibly he might use it as a pretext; and, seeing the throne of India filled by a prince not yet firmly seated, and odious by the steps which had led to his elevation, might conceive the hope of making this important addition to his dominions. Many circumstances conspired to favour his expectations. Of the great omrahs at the court of Delhi a number were of Persian extraction; many also, of Patan or Afghan origin, looked back with regret to the period when princes of their nation sat on the imperial throne. Aurengzebe had room to suspect that Abbas was seeking to open a communication with the Persian chiefs in his service, and was even attempting to seduce the vizier, who was of that descent. He felt himself in a very delicate situation; for this body was so numerous and powerful, that to drive them into open hostility might have rendered his position still more critical. The vizier and the other nobles, however, strenuously denied the charge; and the whole affair was amicably adjusted. The emperor, notwithstanding, continued to feel the utmost anxiety till he was relieved by the intelligence that Abbas, in

consequence of a neglected illness, had expired in his camp on the frontier. Sefi, his grandson and successor, looking forward with anxiety to the scenes of disorder which usually follow a vacancy in an eastern throne, felt no inclination to embarrass himself farther by a foreign war, and readily concluded a treaty.

We must not omit to mention a ridiculous incident, by which Aurengzebe was exposed to great danger. An old female devotee, called Bistamia, in the Rajpoot territory of Marwar, having, by her bounty, collected around her a number of fakirs and other Hindoo sectaries, formed them at length into a sort of army, with which she defeated the rajah and some inferior officers. Having at length assembled a force amounting to twenty thousand, she marched upon the imperial city. Superstitious terror prepared the way for her victories; for it was believed that she prepared a mess, composed of the most horrid ingredients, which rendered her followers on the day of battle invisible, and consequently irresistible. Having made their way victoriously almost to the gates of Agra, they looked on themselves as masters of the empire, and proclaimed their leader Queen of India. Aurengzebe was seriously alarmed on finding even his own troops struck with awe, and that it would be vain to contend against such a host with mere human weapons; but having, by his Moslem zeal, acquired a holy character in the eyes of his soldiers, he wrote sacred sentences on pieces of paper, and caused them to be stuck on the points of spears, which he placed in front of the battalions, assuring his men that they would secure them against the necromantic influences of these singular adversaries. Their fears were thus dispel-

led; and the superiority of their arms soon enabled them completely to rout the fakir host, which was almost entirely cut to pieces.

The reign of this emperor was again disturbed by an insurrection in Cabul, where he soon reduced the open country, though he wisely desisted from the attempt to deprive the inhabitants of their rude independence. But the grand object of his ambition was to effect the final subjugation of the Deccan kingdoms of Golconda and Bejapore, which, although their force had indeed been broken by repeated victories gained by his predecessors, and even by himself previous to his accession, still retained a considerable share of power.

Various occurrences and dissensions prevented this expedition from being carried into effect till the year 1686, the twenty-eighth of Aurengzebe, when the whole imperial force marched by three directions into the Deccan. Operations were begun by Shah Allum, the heir-apparent, who laid siege to Golconda. The king solicited peace on very humble terms, which the invader granted, that he might turn his whole force against Bejapore. This nation made a more obstinate resistance; but afterwards, the troops being induced by treachery to desert, the city was closely invested, and at length compelled by famine to capitulate. Secunder Adil Shah, the last of a long line of powerful princes, became a captive in the hands of the emperor. The victor forthwith turned his arms to complete the conquest of Golconda; when his son Shah Allum, by remonstrating against this breach of faith, incurred his resentment, and was thrown into prison. That city, after a siege of seven months, was taken by treachery; its king,

Abou Houssein, after being treated with the utmost indignity, terminated in confinement another great and powerful race of monarchs.

But an event which influenced the whole reign of Aurengzebe is still to be mentioned. This was the rise of the Mahratta power, which, from small beginnings, was one day to subvert the proud fabric of the Mogul empire, and even dispute with Britain the supremacy of Indostan. The north-western part of peninsular India composes the territory of Maharashtra, which, according to Mr Grant Duff, includes a surface of 102,000 square miles, and a population of about six millions. It is traversed by branches of the Ghauts and Vyndhia mountains, and comprises large portions of the provinces of Malwa, Candeish, Aurungabad, and Bejapore. The whole bears a very different aspect from the extensive plains of the Deccan and of Indostan Proper. It is elevated, rugged, diversified with bleak table-lands, and broken by numerous streams and torrents. Being throughout unfit for the action of heavy cavalry, in which the strength of the Mogul armies consisted, it could be reduced only to very imperfect subjection. All the hills and fastnesses were occupied by petty chieftains, who paid a mere outward homage to the imperial throne or the kingdom of Bejapore. Amid the constant wars, however, of the Mohammedan nations with one another, and the disputed successions of the great empire, opportunities were afforded to a leader of daring and comprehensive mind to erect them into a powerful and independent community. Such a person was Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta dynasty.

This hero, though he began with slender resources, was by no means of ignoble descent. His great-grandfather, Babjee Bhonslay, was a son of the Rana of Oodipoor, whose blood is considered the highest and purest in all Indostan, but his mother was a woman of inferior caste; and the stain thus incurred induced him to quit his native country, and seek employment and distinction in other courts. Having risen to eminence in the service of a rajah in the territory of Candeish, he obtained a zemindary near Poonah, then only a village, but which the prosperity of his family raised afterwards into a great capital. His son Malojee acquired celebrity under a Mahratta chief, whose daughter he obtained in marriage for his son Shahjee. This last having quarrelled with his father-in-law, entered the army of the King of Bejapore, and was employed in Tanjore and the Carnatic. While serving in this southern quarter, he left his son Sevajee at Poonah with his mother, under the tuition of Dadajee Konedeo, who seems to have bestowed very great pains in training the future warrior. He initiated him, not indeed in letters, which are despised by these mountaineers, but in military exercises, in national legends and poetry, and in a deep veneration for the Hindoo faith and observances. At the age of seventeen, Sevajee was impelled by his daring spirit to military enterprise; he collected a band of Mawulees, natives of the neighbouring glens, and commenced that ambiguous profession of a warrior and a robber, which is pursued by the half-civilized tribes of Asia. Heavy complaints were lodged with Dadajee on account of these exploits of his pupil, against which

he felt himself bound to make the most solemn remonstrances, though he is alleged to have secretly encouraged the youth to persevere in his pursuits, for which he saw him eminently qualified ; foreseeing, probably, in some degree, the greatness to which such an adventurous life would conduct him.

Sevajee accordingly followed his daring course ; and obtaining possession of the almost inaccessible castle of Torna, gave the first alarm to the King of Bejapore, whom, however, he conciliated by the promise of an increased tribute. As he continued to seize or erect fort after fort, the king not only redoubled his remonstrances, but also appealed to Shahjee, the father of the youth, whom he first threatened and then imprisoned, disregarding all his protestations that he neither knew nor approved of his son's proceedings. Sevajee was distressed at the disaster in which he had involved his parent ; yet, very unwilling to effect his release by a change of system, he bethought himself of an application to Shah Jehan, whose vassal he professed himself, and by whose powerful intercession the deliverance of Shahjee was in fact obtained. When Aurengzebe came to make war against Bejapore, Sevajee continued to represent himself as an ally of the Mogul, and hence, as even his neutrality was of importance at so eventful a period, he was allowed to retain unmolested all his possessions. But, as soon as he saw these two great monarchies fully occupied in their sanguinary contest, he hesitated not to seize plunder and territory from either, as opportunity offered. At length Aurengzebe suspended hostilities, that he might prosecute those ambitious schemes which issued in his elevation to the throne of Indos-

tan; during the progress of which he had of course no leisure to resent the conduct of Sevajee. That rising chief, however, had to encounter the undivided hostility of the court of Bejapore, which had long considered him as a rebel, and now exerted its entire force to effect his destruction; and he boldly determined to face the storm with the combined power of arms and stratagem.

The army of Bejapore, under the command of Afzool or Abdul Khan, a leader of distinction, advanced against this daring freebooter, in full confidence of speedily subduing him. Sevajee, finding it necessary to ply all his arts, gave intimation that he had resolved to submit, but dreaded to place himself in the power of an enemy so justly offended. He therefore prevailed upon his adversary to arrange a meeting, to which each party should come with one attendant only. In contemplation of this interview, Sevajee filled the woods in front of his castle with armed men in ambush, put on a complete suit of chain-armour under his cotton robe, as well as a steel cap, and concealed in his clothes a dagger and other deadly weapons. He had soon the satisfaction to discover Afzool Khan advancing with an escort of 1500 men, whom he left at some distance, and came to the appointed spot with a single follower. Sevajee meantime had performed the most solemn religious ceremonies, and besought his mother's blessing, like one going forth on some deed of glorious peril. He then proceeded to the place apparently unarmed, and looking frequently back as if afraid to proceed. At length he came up, embraced Afzool after the Indian fashion, and at the same moment struck him

through the body. The Bejapore chief instantly drew his sword, and aimed a blow at the head of his treacherous assailant; but it was intercepted by the helmet beneath his turban; and the next stab laid the khan lifeless on the ground. The Mahratta troops, warned by the sounding of a horn, started from their ambuscade, and soon put to flight the surprised and terrified escort. Asiatic armies can only be rallied round the person of their commander, and on his fall lose all their courage. The Bejapore troops melted away, and Sevajee, left at full liberty to carry on his daring operations, overran a great extent of country, and pushed his inroads to the very gates of the hostile capital. He took occasion in particular to possess himself of the Concan, called by the ancients the Pirate Coast, and became master of its key, the strong fortress of Panalla, which, by enabling him to equip a fleet, greatly augmented his means both of conquest and plunder. The King of Bejapore recruited his forces, and sent repeated expeditions against this rebel chief, which reduced him indeed to great extremities; but he always extricated himself, and at last concluded a peace that left in his possession an extensive range of mountain-territory, with an army of 50,000 foot and 7000 horse.

Aurengzebe meantime, by civil war and treason, had attained the undisturbed possession of the Mogul throne; and he now resolved to make himself complete master of India. For this purpose it was necessary to put down the rising power of Sevajee, which was assuming so formidable an attitude. He despatched on this service a formidable army under Shaista Khan, an omrah high in his confidence. The

new general carried on operations for some time with great success, reduced many forts, including Poonah, the original seat of the military adventurer, who, in this extremity, had recourse to one of his bold exploits. Having selected a small band of resolute soldiers, he obtained admittance, favoured as was suspected by the jealousy of a Mogul chief, into the residence of Shaista. The assailants with pick-axes forced their way into the cook-room, whence they rushed into the interior of the house with such fury that the omrah had scarcely time to leap out at a window; in effecting which he was wounded, and had one of his fingers cut off. His son was killed; and he himself was so affected by this disaster, and filled with such a degree of jealousy of his own officers, that he solicited his recall; after which the military operations against the Mahrattas for some time languished.

This interval was improved by their active chief for the accomplishment of one of his most adventurous undertakings,—the plundering of Surat, at this time the greatest emporium of India, and perhaps the richest city in the world. Confident in its greatness and wealth, the citizens seem to have rested secure, having only surrounded it with a slight earthen wall, incapable of even retarding the intrepid bands of Sevajee. That leader, according to some authors, went in disguise three days through the city, marking the fittest objects for attack and plunder. He then formed two camps at once, before Bassein and Chaul, and seemed solely occupied in pressing the sieges of these important places, when suddenly he ordered the main body of his troops to withdraw from the former, leaving only small parties, instruct-

ed to keep up lights and noise and every appearance of a large army. The Mahratta force thus presented itself quite unexpectedly, and entered Surat without resistance, the governor retiring into the fort, while the English and Dutch remained within their factories; so that the victorious army for three days ranged through this vast city, busying themselves in the appropriation of every valuable object which could be found within its precincts. The booty in treasure, jewels, and other precious commodities, was valued at a million sterling.

Aurengzebe, more and more exasperated at being thus baffled by a petty chieftain, determined to make the most vigorous efforts to crush him. He sent a very formidable army under the maraja, or Mirza Rajah, a gallant Rajpoot officer, accustomed to make war in a mountainous country. The Mahratta was quite unable to face this new commander in the open field; and, castle after castle being reduced, he was soon driven to a more perilous extremity than ever. At length Poorundur, his main place of strength, in which he had lodged his family and treasure, was closely invested, without any hopes of his being able to relieve it. He then gave up his cause as desperate; and on receiving the pledged faith of the maraja, that he should find at Delhi safety and an honourable reception, surrendered himself to the Mogul. He seems to have gone to court with the expectation of being treated as an omrah of the first class, and was therefore deeply mortified when he found himself received by the emperor with studied contempt, and consigned to quite a secondary rank. If we may believe some respectable historians, the daughter of Au-

rengzebe, seeing the young stranger from behind a curtain, became enamoured of him,—of which Sevajee being apprised, he made overtures for her hand, which were rejected by the Mogul with the deepest indignation; but more diligent inquirers regard this tender interlude as altogether apocryphal. At all events, the Mahratta chief saw himself a closely-watched and unhonoured captive, in the hands of one whose wiles were as deep as his own. All his invention, therefore, was on the rack to effect his escape. Having lulled the suspicions of his keepers by counterfeiting a degree of madness, he contrived to have himself and his son placed in two large baskets that had been employed for carrying sweetmeats, and was conveyed to a spot outside the city. Here, mounting in disguise a miserable horse, he travelled onward without suspicion to Muttra, and thence to Benares and Juggernaut, taking this occasion to visit these holy seats of pilgrimage. From the latter he went round by Hydrabad, and at length found himself amid his native hills, with his fierce and gallant followers rallying around him.

Sevajee now resumed his predatory and victorious career, which placed him in a state of avowed warfare with the Mogul; but Aurengzebe, disgusted, perhaps, with the manner in which he had been overreached, and occupied with the arms of Persia and the insurrection of the Patans, did not for a long time direct his attention to this marauder, who merely pillaged a rude district of his dominions. The Mahratta prince accordingly extended his ravages almost undisturbed along the western coast; he again plundered Surat, and on a third occasion, though he did not enter, he levied a large contribu-

tion. In the sack of Rajapore, he robbed the English factory of 10,000 pagodas, which, however, were afterwards repaid. Singurh, an almost inaccessible hill-fort, had been wrested from him by famine during his late disasters; but a thousand of his daring Mawulees, mounting at the highest point by a ladder of ropes, carried the place sword in hand. Immediately on his return he had assumed the titles of royalty, and caused coins to be struck with his name. He now determined to satisfy his pride and dazzle his followers by a formal coronation, modelled upon that of the Mogul, in which the weighing against gold, and other pompous and childish ceremonies, were not omitted. Gifts to an immense value, bestowed on Bramins, gave lustre to this as well as to other high political festivals.

In the year after his coronation Sevajee was seized with an illness which confined him eight months; after which he resumed his warlike operations on a more extended scale than ever. Golconda, almost at the opposite side of the peninsula, and considered far beyond his reach, saw itself suddenly surrounded by upwards of 12,000 Mahratta horse, who rushed to the assault so suddenly as to leave no time to put the city in any posture of defence. An immense ransom was paid to save it from plunder; and Sevajee, having entered at the head of a large body of followers, held an audience on quite an equal footing with its great and potent sovereign. He even appears, without abating any part of his claim of ransom, to have formed an alliance for common defence against the Mogul. He penetrated next year across the territories of Bejapore into the Carnatic, which afford-

ed an entirely new scene of conquest. He made himself master of Gingee, Vellore, and other strong places, in the name of the King of Golconda, but carefully garrisoned them with his own troops; then pushed his victories to the neighbourhood of Madras on one side, and of Seringapatam on the other. After his return he alarmed and had nearly obtained possession of Bombay; but having to encounter Dilleer Khan, the Mogul general, to whom Sambajee, his son, with the usual treachery of Indian princes, had deserted, he sustained a defeat, and was obliged to retreat to Rayree, his capital. Afterwards, being reconciled to his son, he set out, and making an immense circuit, seized near Burhanpoor a large convoy bringing treasure to the imperial army. He returned rapidly and safely to his metropolis; but the extreme fatigue of this journey, joined to what he had endured in so many other expeditions, caused an inflammation in the lungs, which terminated his life on the 5th April, 1680, at the age of fifty-three. On receiving the tidings, Aurengzebe is said to have shown extraordinary marks of exultation; having at the same time the magnanimity to bear witness to the great talents by which, while he himself had been employed in subverting all the ancient kingdoms of India, Sevajee had been able, in defiance of numerous and well-appointed armies, to erect a new one on a broad and firm basis.

The character of Sevajee has been very variously drawn; though the delineations appear to us, on the whole, somewhat too favourable. He certainly presented a complete example of a character not uncommon in the East or in barbarous countries, but sel-

dom brought into view in our happier forms of society; in which the monarch, general, partisan, bandit, and even the expert thief, are blended in nearly equal proportions, and each part is performed with equal success, according to the scene on which it is acted. In all these capacities Sevajee showed himself what we should call an excessively clever fellow; and the history of his tricks and surprises, repeated and exaggerated for the sake of amusement, has rendered his name highly popular among the Hindoos. Yet there seems nothing, either in his objects or in his mode of pursuing them, which can entitle him to be ranked as a great man, actuated by any high or enlarged views of policy. In regard to his moral qualities, again, it seems difficult to ascribe any to the man who scrupled at nothing whatever by which he could compass his ambitious designs. If he had any principles of faith or honour, it is obvious that they were never allowed to interfere with any important interest. Not to have been addicted to wanton cruelty is, indeed, in an eastern warrior, a subject of praise; yet blood was never spared if the shedding of it could serve a political object. Perhaps, had he ever attained the peaceable possession of an extensive kingdom, he might have atoned for the evils which his predatory warfare inflicted, by a beneficent and protecting system; but for this he had scarcely an opportunity. At the same time his habits were simple and temperate; he mingled frankly and familiarly with his followers; and, without guard or precaution, felt himself among them always in perfect safety. He was most strictly observant of the rites of the Hindoo religion, professing in its cause

the most fervent zeal; nor would we hastily pronounce this attachment to have been purely political, though it proved one of the chief instruments of his aggrandizement. He proclaimed himself its champion against the bigoted enmity, degenerating at last into persecuting zeal, manifested by the designing Aurengzebe.

The Mahratta cause was placed in imminent peril by the premature decease of its founder. Sambajee, according to the usual fate of an Indian prince, opened his career by contending with a brother for the sovereignty. He was next invaded by a large Mogul force; but, showing himself not an unworthy descendant of his father, compelled it to retire with great loss. Aurengzebe, however, soon afterwards poured all his armies into the Deccan, with the view of making a final conquest of the south of India. He began, as we have already related, with the entire reduction of the kingdoms of Bejapore and Golconda, which had so long braved his power. He then turned his whole force against the Mahrattas, and began to practise against them their own arts. Having learned from one of his spies that Sambajee, in the pursuit of irregular pleasures, to which he was addicted, had set out almost unattended on a private excursion, he sent a detachment who surprised and made him prisoner. The emperor, according to his usual ungenerous conduct, ordered the captive to be immediately put to death, and is alleged even to have feasted his eyes on the sufferings which that unfortunate prince bore with unshaken fortitude. The final downfal of the Mahratta cause was now fully anticipated; but Rama, a brother of the deceased, hastened to the

Carnatic, and rallied his army round the almost impregnable fortress of Gingee, the reduction of which, interrupted by desultory warfare, occupied the imperial armies several years. Meantime the people, in their native mountains, were mustering their irregular bands, with which they poured down not only upon the newly-conquered country of Golconda and Bejapore, but even upon the old Mogul territories of Candeish, Malwa, and Berar.

The Mahratta army, which was destined for more than a century to exercise the chief sway over the destinies of Indostan, was, like that of the Mogul, composed chiefly of cavalry, but very differently organized. The latter, cased in strong defensive armour, rode heavy and powerful steeds, while the chiefs, mounted on elephants, were enclosed in a species of fortification. Such squadrons, when acting on the vast plains of Indostan Proper, or even on the wide and level table-lands of the Deccan, bore down all opposition. But Maharashtra is a region of hills neither so lofty nor so rugged as to obstruct altogether the movement of horse, yet not affording ground on which the ponderous masses of Mogul cavalry could make their impetuous charge. The new people, therefore, raised a force suited to their country and to their own habits, composed of small, swift, active horses, with riders lightly dressed and equipped, fitted for march rather than for battle; to sweep over a wide extent of country, and return without allowing an enemy to overtake them. They were intermixed with infantry, armed partly with matchlocks, partly with arrows; but the favourite national weapon is the spear, with a short sword

and shield. An annual campaign was regularly opened at the termination of the north-west monsoon, and announced by the hoisting of the *ghoonda* or royal standard. In forming a camp, the flag of the prince or general is first displayed, whence the bazaar or range of shops extends in a parallel line from front to rear. Along these, on each side, the chiefs raise their ensigns, around which their followers, with their horses and cattle, crowd in masses. The army sets forth without any provision except what can be contained in two cotton bags or pouches thrown over the front of each rider's saddle. They march onward, trusting to supply all their wants on their route, either by forcible seizure, or by means of the numerous brinjarries, or merchants, who resort to a Hindoo camp as a market for their commodities. Although plunder be an essential object, it is not pursued by lawless violence, nor does each individual trooper appropriate to himself what falls into his hands. It is extorted from the rich according to a regular system, and the produce is thrown into the public stock. A liberal pay is allowed to the soldier, not indeed always very regularly distributed, but he is indulged in great freedom whilst suing for its liquidation. In these excursions the troops not only load themselves with booty, but add much to their numbers; for men of an adventurous spirit, who have no tie to home and can only provide a horse, are easily induced to join the ranks of this roving army. Thus the Mahratta force, without any decisive victory, swelled as it proceeded; and even amid successive defeats, while losing battle after battle and castle after castle, they continued to overspread the extensive provinces

of Candeish, Malwa, and Berar, and to occupy a large portion of Central India.

The declining years of Aurengzebe, though they were not marked by any serious reverse, and though his power continued on the whole unbroken, were yet rendered gloomy by the disappointment of several important enterprises, and by the many omens of decline and disaster which thickened around his empire. His bigotry, always increasing, impelled him at length to the most violent measures for extirpating the Hindoo religion. The superb temples of Muttra and Benares were razed to the ground, and mosques erected on their site. The pagoda of Ahmedabad, one of the most splendid of the national structures, was desecrated by killing a cow within its walls. These outrages, viewed by the superstitious people with the deepest horror, did not indeed excite them to direct rebellion; but still they spread throughout the empire a universal detestation of the Mogul yoke, and an eager disposition to rally round every standard erected by a native chief or government. To them may be ascribed in a great measure the rapid progress of the Mahratta state, and the successful resistance of the petty Rajpoot principalities. The days of Aurengzebe were also more and more imbittered by the disposition which his children showed to follow his fatal example. Mohammed, his eldest son, had already died in prison,—the punishment of rebellion. During a dangerous illness, under which he suffered at an early period of his reign, Shah Allum, the second, had too clearly shown how intently his mind was fixed on the succession; and though he had done nothing absolutely undutiful, or

which would have justified his disgrace, the intercourse between him and his father was ever after marked by suspicion and distrust. Akbar, another son, distinguished by the high rank of his mother, broke into open rebellion, and joined successively the hostile standards of the Mahrattas and the Rajpoots. Two others, Azim and Kaum Buksh, were near him in his last illness; and he foresaw too clearly that his approaching death would be the signal for dreadful conflicts, to be terminated only by the blood of all his male descendants except one. Amid these troubles and gloomy presentiments the fatal term at length arrived; he expired in his camp on the 21st February 1707, in the ninety-fourth year of his age, and in the forty-ninth of his reign.

Historians have found much difficulty in forming a correct estimate of the character of this extraordinary monarch. His crimes, written in deep and legible characters, cannot be concealed, while the general tenor of his life was marked by many virtues. In the administration of justice he was assiduous and impartial; he was liable neither to fits of passion nor caprice; his charities were almost unbounded, and he usually showed much concern for the welfare of his people. Surrounded by the most ample means of licentious indulgence, of which the example had been set by the greatest of his predecessors, the habits of his private life were pure and even austere. Our opinion of his character must be materially affected, by the degree of credit which we attach to that religious profession which he maintained through life with so much apparent zeal. It is exposed to much suspicion, from the manifest exaggeration with which it was sometimes

exhibited, and still more from its having been made an instrument of ambition, and even of crimes. Yet there seems reason to believe that, as in the case of Cromwell, whom in many respects he resembled, there may have been, beneath a good deal of interested and hypocritical pretension, a fund of sincerity. This conclusion seems strengthened by his persecution of the Hindoo religion, the imprudence of which, in a worldly point of view, was too manifest to have escaped a prince of his penetration, and, however blamable in itself, must, in the professor of a creed essentially intolerant, admit of some palliation. There seems reason to believe, that amid the greatest aberrations his moral feelings remained strong; that though the tempest of ambition, when it arose, swept all before it, the deeds to which it prompted were afterwards a subject of deep remorse. The blood of his kindred which he had shed seems never to have been effaced from his mind; so that, seated on the greatest throne of the world, and possessed of every quality which could support and adorn it, Aurengzebe was miserable. Several letters have been preserved, written to his sons in the prospect of death, which are apparently genuine, and give a striking picture of the emotions felt at the approach of that awful hour when the earthly greatness which he had purchased at so dreadful a price was about to disappear. He says,—"Old age is arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my limbs. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, and for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power hath left only sorrow

behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling (conscience), but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight.—I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God, yet regarding my actions fear will not quit me; but when I am gone, reflection will not remain.—My back is bent with weakness, and my feet have lost the powers of motion. The breath which rose is gone, and left not even hope behind it. I have committed numerous crimes, and know not with what punishments I may be seized.—The guardianship of a people is the trust by God committed to my sons.—I resign you, your mother, and son, to God as I myself am going. The agonies of death come upon me fast.—Odiporee, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but every thing has its appointed time.—I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you.—No one has seen the departure of his own soul; but I see that mine is departing."

On the death of Aurengzebe, the struggle for empire immediately commenced; yet it was neither so obstinate nor so bloody as had been anticipated. Shah Allum, the eldest son, and whose cause was embraced by the more powerful party, was of a temper peculiarly mild and amiable; he made the most liberal offers to his brothers, proposing to grant them the government of some of the finest provinces; but ambition and evil advisers urged them on

to try the fortune of battle. They were vanquished; one of them was killed in the field, the other put an end to his own life; and Shah Allum, by painful steps, but without guilt, ascended the throne.

The chief aim of the new monarch seems to have been to restore peace to the empire, even at the cost of resigning some of the pretensions advanced by its rulers during the long period of progressive prosperity. He effected an accommodation with the Rajpoots, on terms which required from those haughty chiefs little more than the shadow of submission. The Mahrattas, during the latter part of the reign of Aurengzebe, had offered to cease their depredations on condition of receiving the *chout*, or fourth part of the revenue of the districts which were exposed to their inroads; but that proud monarch, though unable to repel them, indignantly rejected the idea of listening to proposals made by the leaders of a predatory horde. Shah Allum, however, finding that the empire did not afford the means of subduing these marauders, determined, wisely perhaps, to accede to their terms, and thereby to deliver several of his finest provinces from so dreadful a scourge. On other occasions, when circumstances were more favourable, he showed himself not destitute either of enterprise or military skill. These qualities he had occasion to display against a new enemy, who about this time rose into political importance.

The Sikhs or Seiks made their first appearance during the reign of Baber simply as a religious sect. Nannuk, the founder, appears to have been an amiable and intelligent man, of a mild and philosophic temper, who, seeing with pain the violent dissensions between the votaries of the Hindoo and Mohamme-

dan creeds, formed a scheme by means of which he hoped to effect a reconciliation. Borrowing some of the leading ceremonies of each, he endeavoured to inculcate the grand principles of a superintending providence and a future retribution acknowledged by both. The numbers of the Seiks rapidly multiplied, being swelled by accessions from other sects; but they still conducted themselves as peaceable citizens, and, under the easy and philosophic reigns of Akbar and his successors, suffered not the slightest molestation. It was the persecuting bigotry of Aurengzebe which converted them into mortal enemies. He caused their chief or patriarch, Teeg Bahadur, to be seized, brought to the fort of Gwalior, and there put to death. This violent proceeding changed entirely the character of the Seiks. Gooroo Govind, son to the murdered patriarch, devoted his whole life to the task of vengeance. He succeeded in inspiring all his followers with the same sentiments; and, having armed and mounted them, he converted peaceful fakirs into daring troopers and fierce marauders. Being obliged, however, with these newly-levied bands, to encounter Aurengzebe in the plenitude of his zeal and power, the Seik chief was unable to make an effectual resistance. His troops were scattered; his two sons taken and put to death; he himself became a hopeless exile; and, overpowered by so many calamities, died bereft of reason. But the spirit of the association did not sink; on the contrary, under the pressure of wrong and suffering, it became more fierce and resolute than ever. After lurking for many years amid the hills and fastnesses on the rude border of the Himmaleh, they were encouraged by the death of Aurengzebe again

to approach the northern provinces. They were now led by Banda, a follower of the late chief, who assumed also the name of Gooroo Govind. Their devastations are represented to have been truly dreadful, inspired by an imbittered feeling of revenge, and an entire disregard of humanity. Banda had occupied Sirhind, when he learned that the emperor with his whole force was advancing against him; he then fell back upon Daber, a hill-fort situated among the steeps of Himmaleh, on an elevated summit which could be approached only by craggy rocks and ravines. According to the account of Eradut Khan, who appears to have been present, the emperor regarded the position as so strong that he wished to decline the attack, and proposed rather to remain inactive, and, by appearing afraid of the enemy, to allure them into the open field. The Khan Khanan or general, however, was animated with a more daring spirit; and having obtained permission to advance with a party to reconnoitre, he immediately began to attack and drive the enemy from the heights surrounding the fortress. This success roused the military ardour of the army, who instantly rushed forward in great numbers to join in the assault; and the emperor, with mingled anger and satisfaction, saw his troops, in defiance of his command, carrying all before them. They had pushed the enemy into the central fort, which, relying chiefly on the strength of its approaches, was not calculated for any serious resistance; but darkness now fell, and the commander contented himself with closing all the avenues, and keeping strict watch through the night. In the morning, however, he was disappointed to find that, by a narrow path which

had eluded his notice, the Seik leader had effected his escape, and was retreating into the wildest recesses of the Himmaleh. His progress, notwithstanding, was checked for the present, though the sect retained their power unbroken, and were destined at a later period to act a conspicuous part on the theatre of India.

Shah Allum, according to the account of Eradut Khan, who enjoyed his intimate confidence, appears to have been one of the most accomplished and amiable princes that ever swayed the sceptre of India. His liberality, though censured by some as extreme, was always exerted towards the most deserving objects. He was strongly attached to the Moslem faith, and deeply versant in its theology, which he studied, however, in a liberal manner, making himself acquainted with the opinions of all sects, and even of freethinkers, to a degree that somewhat scandalized the more rigid doctors. Instead of the dark jealousy which had usually reigned between the members of the Mogul family, he had seventeen sons, grandsons, and nephews, constantly seated at his table, who showed no disposition to abuse this kind confidence. Though he did not possess the full energy suited to the trying circumstances of his government, his moderation and the general respect in which he was held might probably have averted the calamities which impended over this great empire; but unhappily, after a reign of five years, he was seized with a violent illness, and died in his camp at Lahore in the year 1712.

He left four sons, who, notwithstanding their peaceful conduct during his life, immediately began to contend with one another for the empire. The

cause of Moiz-ud-Dien, the eldest, was espoused by Zulfeccar Khan, one of the most powerful of the omrahs, who succeeded in defeating and putting to death the three others, and placing the crown on the head of this prince, who assumed the name of Jehander Shah. The new monarch, however, was found wholly incapable of supporting, even with an appearance of decency, the exalted rank to which he had been elevated. Neglecting altogether the business of the state, he abandoned himself to dissoluteness, and was even seen strolling in the vicinity of Delhi in the company of mean and abandoned females. In a government of so little vigour, there were not wanting bold spirits to avail themselves of the opportunity which the weak character and bad administration of the emperor had created. Two brothers, Abdoolla and Hussein, who boasted the high rank of Syeds, or descendants of the Prophet, undertook to recommend a successor, in whose name they might rule Indostan. They pitched upon Feroksere, the offspring of Azim Ooshaun, who was the favourite son of Shah Allum. An army was soon raised, and though Zulfeccar bravely defended the unworthy object whom he had placed on the throne, he was completely defeated, and both he and his master put to death.

The Syeds having thus elevated their candidate to power, considered him as their vassal, and proceeded to administer the empire at their pleasure. They discovered no want of vigour in the conduct of affairs. Banda, the Seik prince, having descended to the plains bordering on the Indus, was defeated, taken, and put to death with the most cruel tortures. The great omrahs, however, soon began

to murmur at the entire supremacy of these chiefs. The emperor himself felt their yoke burdensome; and favourites were not wanting who exhorted him no longer to submit to this thraldom, but to assume the real sway in his own person. Thus his reign of seven years was spent in a continued series of intrigues, the issue of which was that the Syeds completely prevailed, put Feroksere to death, and looked round for another high-born pageant on whom to confer the semblance of sovereignty. They found first a great-grandson of Aurengzebe by his rebellious son Akbar; but in five months he died of consumption. Next his brother Ruffeh-ul-Dowlah was named to succeed, but he survived his elevation only three months. The Syeds then placed on the throne Rooshun Akter, a grandson of Shah Allum, under the name of Mohammed Shah.

This prince, like Feroksere, began by paying implicit deference to the two chiefs who had raised him to the empire; but he also soon listened to other favourites, who exhorted him to emancipate himself from their tyrannical sway. He was at length induced to join in a regular conspiracy formed for that purpose. A misunderstanding had arisen between the two brothers and Nizam-ul-Mulk, a powerful chieftain who held the government of Malwa, and refused to quit it at their mandate. It was arranged that the emperor and Hussein should set out together, and subdue this refractory commander. A plot for the assassination of the Syed was, however, matured; the three conspirators cast lots which of them should do the deed, and it fell upon one whose name was Hyder. Approaching the palanquin in which Hussein was

seated, as if to present a petition, the murderer stabbed him so dexterously that he died in a few moments. He had only time to show his suspicion of the motive by calling out, "Kill the emperor!" and his nephew, at the head of a few resolute soldiers, made a desperate effort to fulfil this dying injunction; but precautions had been taken against the attempt. Mohammed then marched upon Delhi, where the remaining Syed, determining to make a stand, set up a new monarch and collected an army; but he was defeated and taken prisoner. The emperor made his triumphal entry into Delhi, as if he had only now begun to reign.

But he was no sooner placed in full possession of the sovereignty than he displayed that incapacity which seemed to be now inherent in the Mogul race. He had two able and not unfaithful ministers, Nizam-ul-Mulk and Saadut Khan; but, disgusted with their gravity and severity, he resigned himself to gay and youthful advisers, who were easily found within the precincts of a court. These two chiefs, irritated at finding themselves thus overlooked, withdrew, and endeavoured to establish a separate authority in other quarters; Nizam in the Deccan, where he has transmitted his name and title to a race of princes still nominally independent; and Saadut in Oude, where a branch of his family likewise continues to reign. In this crisis the Mahrattas, who had been continually extending the range of their incursions, began openly to contend for the empire. After overrunning the greater part of Malwa and Guzerat, they pushed forward to the very gates of Agra, and struck terror into the imperial capital. Saadut Khan, who alone seemed to

retain any regard for the honour and safety of the state, marched down from Oude, and gave them so great an overthrow as would have completely broken their power, had he been permitted to follow it up; but the weak emperor desired operations to be suspended till his favourite minister should have collected troops, and marched from Agra to take the chief command. Saadut then retired in disgust; after which the enemy rallied, made a fresh incursion as far as Delhi, plundered the environs of that capital, and returned laden with booty to Malwa. But, as if this combination of weakness with intestine war were not enough, an assault from abroad, of the most formidable character, burst upon the sinking fabric of the Mogul empire.

Persia had been recently exposed to the most violent revolutions. The Afghans, a warlike race inhabiting the mountainous region which separates that country from India, took advantage of the weakness into which the once-powerful dynasty of the Sophis had sunk. They marched into its territory, defeated its troops, and laid close siege to Ispahan. Having reduced that capital, they put to death Hussein, the reigning sovereign, with all his family except one son, named Thamas. This young prince sought refuge among the pastoral tribes who occupy those elevated plains which extend over a great part of the Persian empire. These hardy and warlike shepherds, animated with loyal and patriotic feelings, warmly espoused the cause of this last branch of their royal house, and assembled round him in numbers, which became every day more formidable. Among these volunteers a young chief, named Nadir, but who on this occasion assumed the title of

Thamas Kouli Khan, or the noble slave of Thamas, soon distinguished himself by such zeal and ability as raised him to be their leader. After having gained successive victories, he at length retook Ispahan, and drove the invaders completely out of the empire. In the course of so many successes, the troops contracted a stronger attachment to Nadir than to him for whom they had taken up arms. This bold chief, finding himself within reach of the supreme power, placed the prince under restraint, allowing him the mere name and shadow of royalty; he afterwards put out his eyes, and usurped the kingdom in his own person, under his original name of *Nadir* Shah.

The new monarch was not content to be master of Persia; confident in the bravery and attachment of his followers, he resolved to carry his conquests into the neighbouring countries. He invaded the territory of the Afghans themselves, and having reduced Cabul and Candahar, he at length approached the frontier of India. He professed to have no intention or wish to penetrate into that region,—for which historians in general give him credit; but we should hesitate in ascribing to this daring chief so much moderation. At all events, sufficient grounds or pretences were not long wanting. A number of the Afghans who had fled before his arms found an asylum in Indostan. An ambassador and his escort, whom he despatched to demand that these fugitives should be delivered up, were murdered by the inhabitants of Jellalabad; and Mohammed, under the advice of his arrogant and imprudent courtiers, refused to grant satisfaction for this outrage. The Persian prince

advanced, burning for revenge, and probably not without some secret anticipation of ulterior objects. He marched with such rapidity, by way of Peshawer and Lahore, that he was within four days' march of Delhi before the supine emperor was aware of his approach. He then hastily mustered his troops, and obtained the able assistance of Saadut Khan; but that officer, not duly aware of the high talent and valour opposed to him, committed the fatal error of quitting his intrenchments, and hazarding an engagement in the field with the veteran forces of Nadir. The effeminate pomp of an Indian host was quite unfit to contend with the rude valour of these pastoral bands; hence the imperial army was totally routed, and Saadut Khan taken. A series of transactions now followed, which are not very distinctly related by historians. Saadut, it is said, negotiated a treaty, by which Nadir agreed to evacuate the empire on the payment of a subsidy of two crores of rupees (two millions sterling). The Persian chief seemed so entirely satisfied with this arrangement, that the emperor and Nizam-ul-Mulk hesitated not to visit him, and thus put themselves in the hands of the invader. Then, however, it is reported, Saadut Khan, disappointed at finding that the office of vizier, which he claimed as the reward of this service, was to be conferred on the nizam, disclosed to the enemy the secret of the unbounded wealth contained in the palace and capital of India, and for which two crores of rupees formed a most inadequate ransom. We should require fuller evidence before we could believe such treachery in one whose conduct had hitherto been so honourable; nor was it likely that the wealth of Delhi was so little known

as to be confined to the honour and fidelity of a single chief. May we not suppose, with greater probability, that the treaty was agitated by Nadir, and his friendly professions made, solely to induce the emperor and the nizam to commit the almost incredible imprudence of placing themselves in his power. Certain it is, that having thus obtained possession of their persons, he marched forward and took possession of the capital.

Nadir seems to have entered Delhi with the intention of acting moderately, and of protecting the inhabitants from outrage. For two days the strictest discipline was observed; but unfortunately, in the course of the second night, a rumour was spread of his death, when the Hindoos, emboldened to a vain resistance, killed a number of the Persian troops. Their commander, whose fierce spirit had been with difficulty restrained, roused to fury by this outrage, issued orders for a general massacre in every street or avenue where the body of a murdered Persian could be found. Till mid-day the streets of Delhi streamed with blood; after which the conqueror suffered himself to be appeased,—and so complete a power did he exercise over his rude followers, that at his mandate the sword was immediately sheathed. The imperial repositories were now ransacked, and found to contain specie, rich robes, and, above all, jewels to an almost incredible value. The Mogul emperors, since the first accession of their dynasty, had been indefatigable in the collection of these objects from every quarter, by presents, purchase, or forfeiture; and the store had been continually augmented without suffering any alienation, or being exposed to foreign plunder. The

conquerors continued during thirty-five days to extract, by threats, torture, and every severity, the hidden treasures of that splendid capital. Historians hesitate not to estimate the spoil carried off by the Persian monarch and his officers at thirty-two millions sterling, of which at least one-half was in diamonds and other jewels.

Nadir made no attempt to retain India, though it lay prostrate at his feet. He had probably the sagacity to perceive that this country and Persia were incapable of being united into one kingdom. He contented himself with exacting the cession of Cabul, Candahar, and all the provinces west of the Indus; then, seating Mohammed anew on the Mogul throne, he gave him some salutary advices, and departed without leaving a soldier or retaining a fortified post in Indostan. Yet the empire, already greatly sunk, lost by this discomfiture the little remnant of respect which it had hitherto commanded. In Rohilcund, a hilly district closely contiguous to Delhi, some refugee chiefs of the Afghan race, with the brave inhabitants of the country itself, formed an independent state, which defied the Mogul power. They were, it is true, obliged to give way before the united force of the vizier and the Nabob of Oude; but they held themselves in readiness to take advantage of those convulsions to which the imperial power was manifestly becoming more and more liable.

The western nations had learned the route to Delhi, and were not likely to forget it. Nadir, eight years after leaving India, was assassinated in his tent at Meshed, in Khorassan; whereupon the dominion which had been formed by him, and kept to-

gether by his prudence and vigour, fell quickly to pieces. Ahmed Abdalla, one of his officers, an Afghan by birth, being joined by a part of the army, hastened to his native country, proclaimed himself King of Afghanistan, and, amid the distractions that followed the death of his master, succeeded without difficulty in making good his claim. Finding himself thus seated in the undisturbed possession of a strong country, with a brave population, and which had often given conquerors to Indostan, he could not resist the temptation of following the footsteps of Nadir. In 1747 he passed the Indus, plundered the city of Sirhind, and defeated the vizier, who fell in the engagement; but being disconcerted by some unexpected obstacles, and particularly by the explosion of a magazine, he did not then push his conquests any further.

Soon after this expedition the emperor died, and was succeeded by his son, Ahmed Shah, during whose short reign, as if foreign enemies had not been enough, the court was perpetually distracted by intestine dissension. The emperor and his vizier were now almost in regular opposition. Ahmed being oppressed by one of these officers, Suffder Jung, employed against him Ghazee-ud-Dien, grandson to Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had died at the age of 104. This young man, holding the rank of Ameer-ul-Omrah, made considerable efforts to retrieve the affairs of the empire. He compelled the vizier, who had even set up another monarch, to relinquish his station. He undertook an expedition against the Jits or Jauts, a wild tribe inhabiting the hilly tracts in the most western provinces, and who, amid the general anarchy, had shaken off the yoke. But, while

thus employed, Ghazee-ud-Dien excited the jealousy of the emperor, who, adopting the views of a new favourite, concerted with the Jaut rajah a plan for his destruction. Aided, however, by the Mahratta chief Holkar Mulhar, he completely baffled these designs, obtained possession of his master's person, put out his eyes, and raised to the throne a son of Jehander Shah, under the empty but imposing title of Aulumgere the Second.

The empire was now in a most distracted condition; there was scarcely a power so insignificant as not to think itself sufficiently strong to trample on it. The Afghans had completely conquered the provinces of Moultan and Lahore; the Seiks, in the same quarter, daily augmented their numbers and strength; the Jauts and Rohillas continued their predatory inroads; while the Mahrattas extended their incursions, in the course of which they had even passed the Jumna, and obtained an important settlement in Rohilcund. Ghazee-ud-Dien precipitated the disaster by a rash attempt at conquest, to which his power was wholly inadequate. An Afghan lady having been intrusted by Ahmed Abdalla with the government of Lahore, the vizier, under pretence of negotiating a marriage with her daughter, seized her person, and brought her a prisoner to Delhi. At this outrage the indignation of the Afghan king knew no bounds. He hastened at the head of a powerful army, and made an unresisted entrance into the capital, which was given up to a sack almost as dreadful as it had suffered from Nadir. A most extraordinary scene then ensued. The emperor besought the invader not to leave him without protection against his own vizier, who had raised him indeed to the no-

minal power, but treated him as a mere pageant, while he himself exercised all the real authority. Ahmed accordingly made some arrangements for this purpose, placing Aulumgere under the guardianship of a Rohilla chief; but these measures, after his departure, proved wholly insufficient. Ghazee-ud-Dien (for so, to prevent confusion, we shall continue to call him, though he now chose to entitle himself Umad-ul-Mulk), having formed an alliance with the Mahrattas, easily obtained possession both of the capital and the emperor. That unfortunate prince at first pretended a reconciliation, but, being soon after detected in a correspondence with the adverse party, was assassinated, and his body thrown into the Jumna. Yet Ghazee-ud-Dien himself, unable to withstand the numerous enemies who surrounded him, was soon afterwards obliged to seek refuge in a castle belonging to the Jauts.

Without attempting to thread further this labyrinth of treason, we may observe generally, that the Mogul throne had now almost ceased to retain any degree of weight or importance. The contest for the empire of India lay entirely between the Afghans and the Mahrattas. The latter, taking advantage of the absence of their rivals, determined upon a grand attempt to secure complete possession of Indostan. Bringing up from the Deccan an immense body of cavalry, and being aided by the Seiks, they overran not only the metropolitan provinces of Agra and Delhi, but also those of Moultan and Lahore, and drove the Afghans beyond the Indus. Ahmed Abdalla, however, was not of a character tamely to allow these fine countries to be wrested from his kingdom. He soon crossed the river with a formidable army, and was joined

by many chiefs who were exasperated at the incursion of the Mahrattas. The latter at first retreated, and allowed him to occupy Delhi; but immediately intrenched themselves in a strong camp, which the enemy did not venture to attack. Pressed, however, by want of provisions, they imprudently came out and gave battle, when they experienced a total defeat; their army of 80,000 men being almost entirely destroyed, and Duttah Sindia, their general, killed. Another body under Holkar was surprised near Secundra, and so completely worsted, that the chief himself fled naked with a handful of followers.

The Mahrattas, though humbled by this disaster, were not discouraged; they were only urged to the most extraordinary exertions for retrieving their fortunes. Before the close of the year, they had assembled a force of 140,000 men, commanded by Sewdasheo Rao, called the Bhow, nephew to their peishwa or supreme prince. That chief, being joined by the vizier and the Jaut leaders, advanced upon Delhi. The deep stream of the Jumna, swelled by the rains, separated the armies; but, though it could not be forded, the daring spirit of Abdalla impelled him to plunge into its waters, and swim across with his whole army. This achievement, which was almost without example, struck dismay into the host of the Mahrattas. Though triple the number of their antagonists, they did not venture to face them in the open field, but shut themselves up in an intrenched camp at Panniput, on a spot where the fate of the empire has been repeatedly decided. Abdalla for some time merely hovered round them and cut off their supplies; at length he ventured on an attempt to carry their position, but was obliged to retire without any important success. Encouraged

by this result, and distressed as formerly by the want of provisions, the Mahrattas determined again to risk a battle in the open plain. Placing their artillery in front, they advanced with that impetuosity by which they were accustomed to carry all before them. The Afghan commander caused his troops to hold themselves in reserve till the enemy had nearly come up ;—then gave the signal for a general charge. The light horse of the mountains were never able to resist, even for a short interval, the heavy cavalry of the more northern nations. On the first onset a complete rout took place ; their host was so scattered in every direction that only a remnant reached the Deccan : while 22,000 prisoners, 50,000 horses, with an immense booty, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

It was now easy for the victorious Afghan to seat himself on the vacant throne of the Mogul ; but he seems not to have felt any ambition for this high dignity. Perhaps he was sensible that, amid such a general agitation throughout Indostan, and with so many nations in arms, such an acquisition was too distant from the centre of his dominions to be retained with advantage. Contenting himself with the provinces west of the Indus, he quitted in a few months the seat of government, leaving there Alee Gohur, eldest son of Aulumgere II., in possession of the empty but still venerated title of Great Mogul, to be the tool or captive of the first daring chief who should seize the capital. Having traced the decline of this mighty empire to so low an ebb, we shall now pause till we have marked the progress of that new power from a distant continent, which has seated herself on its ruins, and obtained a complete supremacy over all the states of India.

# CHAPTER X.

## *British Conquest of the Carnatic.*

First Territorial Acquisitions—War between France and England—Early Settlements of the French—Their Establishment at Pondicherry—Enterprises of Labourdonnais—He takes Madras—Superseded by Dupleix—Pondicherry besieged—Conclusion of Peace—English Expedition to Tanjore—Contests for the Sovereignties of Southern India—The French interpose—Gain a complete Victory—They are expelled by Nazir Jung—The English join him—His Death—Succession and Death of Mirzapha Jung—Salabat Jung—Exploits of Clive—Advantages over the French—Their Influence in the Deccan—Form a Confederacy against the English—Siege of Trichinopoly—Acquisitions of the French—Recall of Dupleix—Treaty concluded—The Colleries—War of 1756—Lally takes the Command—Reduces Fort St David—Siege of Madras—Raised—French defeated at Wandewash—Siege of Pondicherry—Its Surrender—Cruel Treatment of Lally in France.

THE voyages of the English, related in a former part of this work,* were personal adventures, undertaken with a mingled view to discovery, commerce, and piracy, rather than to any fixed scheme of conquest or dominion. Their forts accordingly were erected as depositories for goods, or as affording commercial facilities, and not with any aim at territorial possession. It was not till 1689 that their views seem to have extended to the latter object. In the instructions issued to their agents during that year, they intimate that the increase of their revenue was

---

* Chapter V.

henceforth to occupy as much attention as their commerce; that they wished to be "a nation in India;" and they quote with unmerited applause the conduct of the Dutch, who, they assert, in the advices sent to their governors, wrote ten paragraphs concerning tribute for one relative to trade. The means of gratifying this disposition were as yet very limited; as certain small portions of territory around Bombay and Madras comprised the whole extent of their Indian sovereignty. They held themselves ready, however, to purchase every city or district which the native princes could, by any motive, be prevailed upon to alienate. They thus acquired Tegnapatam on the Coromandel coast, which they garrisoned, and gave it the name of Fort St David. Nine years after they made a more important acquisition. Azim Ooshaun, whom his father, Aurengzebe, had created Viceroy of Bengal, but who, contemplating a struggle for the succession to the empire, and standing in need of treasure to forward his schemes, was induced, in 1698, to sell to the Company the zemindarships of the towns and districts of Chutanutty, Govindpore, and *Calcutta*,—the last destined to become the splendid capital of British India. Here they began, though not without due circumspection, to erect Fort William, which, in 1707, was made the seat of a presidency.

The superior skill of Europeans in medicine, which had first enabled them to obtain a footing in Bengal, now afforded an opportunity of greatly extending their influence. In 1715, under the reign of the Emperor Feroksere, the presidency sent two factors, with an Armenian merchant, on a commercial mission to Delhi. The principal object was defeated,

in a manner similar to that of Roe and others, by the intrigues of the omrahs, and of Jaffier Khan, governor of Bengal. But the emperor happening to labour under a severe illness, which the ignorance of the native physicians rendered them unable to treat with success, was completely cured by a medical gentleman, named Hamilton, who accompanied the embassy. For this signal service he was desired to name his own reward. Animated by a patriotic spirit, he asked only privileges and advantages for the Company, and obtained a grant of three villages in the vicinity of Madras, with liberty to purchase in Bengal thirty-seven additional townships; an arrangement which would have secured a territory extending ten miles upwards from Calcutta. The emperor granted also the still more important privilege of introducing and conveying their goods through Bengal without duty or search. But the acquisition of these districts was frustrated by the artful hostility of the nabob, who by private threats deterred the owners from consenting to the purchase. Still, the permission of free trade, though limited to foreign exports and imports, proved of the greatest importance, and soon rendered Calcutta a very flourishing settlement.

A considerable time now elapsed without any farther change in the territorial relations of the Company. Having establishments supported at a moderate expense, which enabled them to carry on trade with security and advantage, they gradually extended their operations till the annual sales amounted to the considerable sum of about two millions sterling; whence they were enabled to pay a dividend of seven or eight per cent. on their capital. Per-

haps it would have been fortunate had this state of things remained unaltered; but the war which broke out in 1744, between the French and English, produced an entire change in the position of the Company both in regard to its internal management, and relatively to the powers both of Europe and of India. To understand this, we must look back for a moment to the first establishments formed by the French in the eastern world.

That people, though they had suffered themselves to be far outstripped in the progress of maritime greatness by the English and Dutch, had yet at an early period displayed a spirit of enterprise. Even in 1503 an expedition had been fitted out by some merchants of Rouen; which, however, experienced a complete failure, in consequence probably of the imperfect nautical skill then possessed by their mariners. Attempts, still on a small scale and generally unsuccessful, were made early in the next century; but it was not till 1642 that a considerable company was at length established. Unluckily that body directed their main attention to the formation of a settlement on Madagascar, a spacious and fruitful island, which it was easy to describe as affording ample scope for cultivation and commerce. But it yielded no commodity suited to the markets of Europe; its inhabitants, too, were numerous and ferocious, and soon became formidable to a power which attempted to take possession of their territory. The French were involved in a harassing warfare, and with difficulty maintained, at certain points on the coast, a few wooden tenements dignified with the title of forts, which involved them in expense without yielding any profit.

The first real establishment of a French East India Company took place in 1664, under the auspices of Colbert, who, prompted and seconded by the aspiring genius of Louis XIV., devoted himself indefatigably to the promotion of industry, manufactures, and commerce. He proceeded upon the principles of that age, which was by no means enlightened in respect to the sound doctrines of political economy; and hence, exclusive grants, exorbitant privileges, and the removal of competition, were the expedients by which it was then attempted to make any branch of industry flourish. Such was Colbert's system, when he submitted to the king the plan of an East India Company, to carry on trade with a capital of 15,000,000 livres (£625,000), and supported by the most extravagant encouragements. They received an exclusive charter for fifty years; they were exempted from all taxes; and the government came under the singular obligation of reimbursing them for all the losses which they might sustain in the course of the first ten years,—a stipulation which actually involved the state in the payment of a large sum. The funds supplied by individuals not being equal to the amount of the proposed capital, limited as it was, three millions were advanced out of the treasury; while the nobles, and all the opulent classes connected with the court, were induced to follow the example.

The management of the Company was neither judicious nor fortunate. They began by endeavouring to turn Madagascar to some account, and sent thither a large colony, most of whom perished under the influence of climate, fatigue, and the hostility of the natives. The survivors were afterwards employ-

ed in colonizing the Islands of Cerne and Mascarenhas, which at a later period, under the names of Mauritius and Bourbon, rose to some degree of prosperity. After the failure of the attempt at Madagascar they sent vessels to India, and began to form settlements on different points of its coast. In 1668 they established their principal factory at Surat, under the direction of Caron, one of their countrymen, who had spent most of his life in the Dutch service. The prospects at first appeared rather promising; but, being involved in dispute with the native powers, and finding the trade ultimately unprosperous, they thought fit to take their departure very suddenly, leaving their debts unpaid,—an omission which of course precluded their return. Attempts were afterwards made to secure a position at Trincomalee in Ceylon, and at St Thomas on the Coromandel coast; but both were defeated by Dutch hostility. Their affairs, therefore, would have become desperate, had not M. Martin, an officer possessed of talent, judgment, and patriotism, collected the scattered adventurers and fixed them at Pondicherry; where, by judicious and conciliatory conduct, he gained the attachment of the natives, opened an advantageous trade, and soon raised the settlement to a very prosperous condition.

When the French and English nations came into mutual collision, the former had no settlement of much consequence on the continent of India except that just named; but it was of considerable importance, being well fortified, and having some extent of territory attached to it. They had smaller factories at Mahé and Carical, as well as at Chandernagore in Bengal. In 1744 hostilities broke out

between the two nations, which were carried on in Europe with great animosity. The French Company appear to have been rather desirous that the war should not extend to the Indian Seas. Their naval officers, on the contrary, were fired by hopes of glory from an attack on the English settlements in that quarter before they could be placed in a posture of defence. Labourdonnais, a person of great talent and most extraordinary activity, who had raised himself through all the ranks of the navy, was now governor of Mauritius and Bourbon. These islands, by his exertions, almost without assistance from home, had become very flourishing. Happening to be in France when the war was in preparation, he made proposals, both to the Company and the ministry, for an attack upon the English establishments. The former were altogether averse to his scheme; but the government unknown to them sanctioned it, and even engaged to furnish two ships, which however were afterwards withheld. Labourdonnais arirved at the islands with the most resolute determination to prosecute his design, though possessed of very slender resources. With this view he detained the vessels which happened to touch there, and employed them in the expedition; he brought the sailors into regular training, many of whom had never fired a gun; and he supplied by various inventions the defective means of equipment. In June, 1746, he arrived at Pondicherry, after a slight action with an English naval force on the coast. Here, too, he had to overcome certain obstacles raised by Dupleix, the governor, before he was permitted to sail with his squadron to attack Madras.

This city was not only the capital of the English

possessions, but one of the chief settlements at that time formed by the Europeans in India. It comprised within its district a population of 250,000, of whom, however, only 300 were from Europe, including 200 soldiers. They lived in Fort St George, called the white town, surrounded merely by a slender wall, with four ill-constructed bastions and batteries. The inhabitants had therefore very small means of defence, and did not, in the use of them, display any heroism. After sustaining a bombardment of five days, in which two or three houses were demolished, and four or five men killed, they capitulated on the 10th September, 1746. They obtained, indeed, the singular condition, that Labourdonnais, after having regularly occupied the place and taken possession of the Company's magazines and warehouses, should, within a stipulated period, and on payment of a fixed ransom, restore Madras to the English. That officer, having made this important acquisition without the loss of a single man, returned to Pondicherry.

He did not there meet with such a reception as he merited. Dupleix, an aspiring and ambitious man, who could not brook any rival in power, thwarted all his schemes, and exposed him to repeated mortifications, till at length he gave up the contest, and sailed for France. There, too, on the representations of his superior officer, he was treated in a manner altogether unworthy of his long and faithful services, being thrown into the Bastile, and not liberated till the end of three years; soon after which he died.

Dupleix, who was thus left in the supreme direction of French affairs in India, was a very extraordinary person. From his father, who had been

a farmer-general and a director of the East India Company, he inherited an immense fortune, which he was taught to employ in the pursuits of commerce. Being sent out originally as first member of the council at Pondicherry, and afterwards as superintendent at Chandernagore, he at once, by his public measures, rendered this last settlement very prosperous, while by an extensive trade he largely augmented his private wealth. His talents and success recommended him to the important station of Governor of Pondicherry. Although, from feelings of jealousy, he had quarrelled with Labourdonnais, and succeeded in removing him, yet his mind was enthusiastically and intensely devoted to the same system of policy. Cæsar, and even Alexander, never formed more magnificent schemes of conquest than this mercantile ruler of French India. His first object was to follow up the advantage gained over the English, and thoroughly to root out that rival nation from the coast of Coromandel. Labourdonnais had, as already mentioned, stipulated on certain conditions to restore Madras, after a mere temporary occupation of it. As a man of honour he was resolved to make good his engagement,—a design wholly foreign to the grasping ambition of Dupleix. Unable otherwise to accomplish his object, he made such arrangements as to delay the period of surrender till the departure of his rival; then contrived to draw forth from the citizens of Pondicherry a remonstrance against giving up a place, the possession of which was so important to their security. In pretended compliance with this request, Madras was not only retained, but exposed to a species of plunder, while the governor and prin-

cipal inhabitants were carried prisoners to the French settlement.

This step was forthwith followed by an expedition for the reduction of Fort St David, while the confidence of Dupleix was greatly heightened by an event which forms a memorable era in the annals of Indian warfare. The Nabob of Arcot, having espoused the English cause, had sent his son with 10,000 men, to endeavour to retake Madras on their behalf. The French had only 1200 soldiers to defend the city, with which force they hesitated not to attack the numerous army of the nabob; when, by their superior discipline and the expert management of their artillery, they gained a complete and decisive victory. The superiority of even a handful of Europeans over the tumultuary bands which compose an Asiatic host had long ago been proved by the Portuguese; but the example of their success was nearly forgotten; and both French and English had been accustomed to view the Mogul as a powerful and mighty monarch, whom it was vain with their slender means to think of resisting. The spell was again broken; and the settlers of either nation learned a lesson which they soon practised with the most extensive and terrible effect.

The present object of Dupleix was simply the reduction of Fort St David, against which he led a force of 1700 men, mostly European; while the English had only 200 of their own troops, with a body of undisciplined natives. As the French, however, were advancing in full confidence, the nabob's army surprised them by a sudden attack, and obliged them to retreat with some loss. A detachment was afterwards sent by sea to attempt the sur-

prise of Cuddalore, the town immediately contiguous to Fort St David, but a heavy gale sprang up and obliged them to return. Dupleix then employed all his address to gain over the nabob. He was particularly careful to impress on that prince a high idea of his own power, trusting to the system regularly acted upon by eastern grandees of studying only immediate advantage, and espousing always the side which they believe to be the strongest. The latter being informed of the arrival of a great additional force, was led to credit the pretensions of the French; and, deserting the English, of whom he had been the sworn and active ally, concluded a treaty with their enemies, which was cemented by a visit from his son, who was received with all that ostentatious pomp in which eastern princes delight..

Dupleix now vigorously resumed his enterprise. He crossed the river, and took up a strong position in front of Fort St David, when a fleet under Admiral Griffin, with a considerable reinforcement of troops, was seen to enter the road. The French again retreated, and the English received some further recruits. At length, in January 1748, Major Laurence, an experienced officer, assumed the command. The two nations thus remained for some time so equally matched that neither ventured upon any serious movement. Dupleix indeed undertook a midnight attack upon Cuddalore; but his approach was discovered, and his men repulsed with considerable loss.

The face of Indian affairs was soon entirely changed by the arrival of an English expedition of nine ships of war, having on board 1400 men, who, with those already in the country, formed the largest

European army ever seen in this part of India. The British were then completely in a condition to undertake offensive operations; and they determined to strike at once a blow at the main strength of the enemy by besieging Pondicherry. As the French had no force which could oppose them in the field, the siege was undertaken with the fairest prospect of success. It was not, however, carried on with due promptitude and vigour. A long delay was incurred in reducing a small fort two miles distant from the city; and when the trenches were at length opened before the place itself, they were not found to be sufficiently near for the artillery to fire with effect; and before this error was amended, the rainy season set in, sickness spread among the troops, and it was necessary to desist from the attempt. The French felt extraordinary exultation at this repulse, which they boasted of as a splendid victory; but, before they could derive any advantage from it, tidings arrived that peace had been concluded in Europe, of which one of the conditions was the restoration of Madras to the English. Hence the two nations were placed exactly in the same position as before the war.

But this treaty, instead of restoring peace to India, served only to give a wider range to warlike operations in that quarter of the world. The two parties, having each a large disposable force, began to look round for some object on which it might be advantageously employed. The events of the preceding war had disclosed the weakness of the native governments and armies, and left room to hope for the establishment of a wide dominion over this extensive and beautiful region.

The English made the first movement. A prince of Tanjore named Sahujee, who had been dethroned by a brother, craved their aid to reinstate him, and offered in return the fortress and district of Devicottah, advantageously situated on the banks of the Coleroon. In 1749, they undertook an expedition against that stronghold; but, disappointed by want of concert between the fleet and the army, and receiving no aid from the natives, they returned without having even attempted its reduction. Mortified by this failure, they proceeded a second time against the place, the ships now conveying the soldiers to the mouth of the river, whence they ascended in boats to the town. After considerable difficulties, and a severe contest, in which Lieutenant Clive, afterwards so eminent in Indian history, distinguished himself by daring valour, they obtained possession of the fort. Its capture was immediately followed up with a treaty, by which its occupation was secured to the English, who, in return, abandoned the cause of the prince for whom they had taken arms. They stipulated even to keep him in confinement, and thereby render him incapable of troubling his rival, provided he received a pension of £400 a-year. This arrangement, as Mr Mill justly remarks, was far from being honourable to our countrymen, who seem, however, to have been altogether deceived in their expectations of co-operation from the people of Tanjore.

The French, meantime, were playing a much higher game, and openly aspiring to a direct ascendency in Southern India. We despair of conducting our readers in a satisfactory manner through the dark maze of Carnatic intrigue, or the barbarous names and uninteresting characters who were em-

ployed in it. It may be premised, that whenever an Indian prince dies no respect is paid to the principle of primogeniture, or to any fixed law of succession. His sons, grandsons, nephews, or even more distant relations, advance claims to the sovereignty, which they forthwith endeavour to support by an appeal to arms. The dissensions of the Deccan arose upon the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who may be remembered as acting a part in Mogul history, and of Sadatullah, nabob of the Carnatic. Both these offices, originally subordinate appointments under the Emperor of Delhi, had, in the decline of that dynasty, become gradually independent. For these, instead of Nazir Jung and Anwar-ud-Dien, the rightful or at least actual possessors, there appeared Mirzapha Jung and Chunda Saheb, who aspired, the former to be Subahdar of the Deccan, the latter to be Nabob of the Carnatic. Having united their interests, they had assembled an army of 40,000 men; and eagerly courted the aid of Dupleix. This ambitious governor conceived that, by filling the two great thrones of the south of India, to which exploit he judged his forces adequate, he would become the undisputed master of that extensive country. He immediately sent D'Auteuil with 2300 men, of whom 400 were Europeans, to join the allied troops. The combined armies then marched to attack Anwar-ud-Dien, the reigning nabob, who, with 20,000 followers, was encamped at Amboor, a strong post guarding one of the principal passes into the Carnatic. He had thrown across the ravine an intrenchment defended by cannon, served by a small band of Europeans. D'Auteuil, the French commander, ambitious to display the valour of his

countrymen, offered with only the few French soldiers to storm the lines. The Indian chiefs closed with the proposal; though the undertaking proved somewhat more formidable than had been anticipated. The artillery of the enemy, being strong and well-directed, repulsed two successive attacks; but the assailants, animated by the consciousness that they were fighting in the view of three armies, rushed forward a third time, and carried the intrenchment. They then pushed forward against the main body, where the nabob, mounted on an elephant, with his standard displayed, and surrounded by his chosen cavalry, was loudly encouraging the troops. But almost immediately a ball fired by a Caffre soldier went through his heart, and he dropt dead to the ground. A total rout instantly ensued; the camp, a very ample booty, sixty elephants, with all the artillery and stores, fell into the hands of the victors. The princes forthwith resolved to march upon Arcot, which surrendered without resistance.

Mohammed Ali, son to the fallen nabob, and heir of his throne, fled to Trichinopoly, a very strong city, the possession of which gave him still a hold upon the Carnatic. Dupleix pressed in the most urgent manner upon the confederate generals that they should not lose a moment, but hasten to the attack of the fortress, which was probably in a very imperfect state of defence. The Indian princes, however, chose rather to begin by marching into Arcot and Pondicherry, where they made a display of their pomp as subahdar and nabob; and when they at last took the field, it was to proceed, not, as Dupleix recommended, against Trichinopoly, but against the

more remote and unimportant city of Tanjore. This decision, however, proceeded from a secret motive; their treasury being completely exhausted, they felt the necessity of securing a supply by extorting from the rajah some heavy arrears of tribute. Tanjore, bordering on the delta of the Coleroon and the Cavery, was wealthy and splendid, adorned with a pagoda which eclipses in magnificence all other structures in the south of India. From the opulent ruler of this state they demanded the payments due to the Mogul, and claimed by them as his representatives. Had they even prosecuted this demand with vigour and promptitude, they might probably have brought it to a speedy issue; but they suffered themselves to be amused by

the rajah, who sometimes negotiated, and at other times fought, till at length they succeeded in bursting open one of his gates, when he was intimidated into an agreement to pay about £900,000. He even began to advance the first instalment; but by sending as part of it a quantity of gold and silver plate, then a lot of old coins, and lastly a quantity of jewels, he contrived to spin out the time till tidings arrived of the appearance of a new actor on the scene, who was destined entirely to change the aspect of affairs.

Ghazee-ud-Dien, the eldest son of the nizam, had attached himself to the Mogul court, at which we have seen him act a conspicuous part. Nazir Jung, the second son, had therefore succeeded to the subahdary, of which he took upon him the full dignity and titles. He was summoned, however, on a peculiar emergency, to join the imperial standard, and had already reached the Nerbudda when he learned the successful usurpations of Mirzapha Jung and Chunda Saheb. He then retraced his steps; and, under the assumed authority of the Mogul court, summoned all its adherents and his own to join in the suppression of this daring rebellion: he enlisted also 30,000 Mahrattas to act as light cavalry. Although he moved with the slow and incumbered pomp of an eastern army, he at length arrived on the Carnatic frontier with a force which Orme supposes not to have fallen short of 300,000 men. It then behoved the allies to put themselves on their defence. Dupleix supported them with all his resources. Having learned their pecuniary difficulties, he gave them a loan of £50,000; while he increased the French contingent to 2000 men. The

English meantime, though they had viewed with jealousy and alarm the late progress of their rivals, were very slow to embark in actual warfare. They had supported the cause of Mohammed Ali only by sending very small detachments to Trichinopoly and Tanjore; but when Nazir Jung arrived with so great an army, invested with the full authority of the Mogul, Major Laurence no longer hesitated to march and join him with a corps of 600 men. This reinforcement was not necessary to secure that prince's triumph. The French troops were brave, but under bad management; a mutiny arose among the officers, thirteen of whom in one day resigned their commands. At this untoward event D'Auteuil, losing all presence of mind, determined immediately to march with his corps to Pondicherry. The cause of the confederates was then altogether desperate. Chunda Saheb sought safety in the French settlement, while Mirzapha Jung surrendered at discretion, and was immediately thrown into irons.

Dupleix, notwithstanding this complete fall from the proud position which he had so lately reached, did not lose courage. He attempted a negotiation with Nazir; and though the mission sent for this purpose failed, they learned that, as the prince was of a weak and voluptuous character, some warlike chiefs of Afghan extraction, who held the principal commands in his army, had entered into a conspiracy to dethrone him. The French governor formed a connexion with these malecontents, and likewise endeavoured to give effect to their intrigues by a military movement. D'Auteuil again took the field, surprised during the night a quarter

of the Mogul camp, while the troops were buried in slumber and the fumes of opium, and committed great havock. Another detachment sent by sea reduced Masulipatan, long the chief emporium of this part of India, and began to fortify it. Meantime Major Laurence, disgusted with repeated irregularities in the conduct of his Indian allies, who refused to be at all guided by his advice, withdrew the English troops from the service of the subahdar, affording thereby full scope for the operations of the French governor. That officer having sent a body of men, who defeated the nabob and obliged him to fly to Arcot, despatched a force into the interior to attack Gingee, the strongest fortress in all the Carnatic. In a midnight assault they stormed successively the three fortified mountains which constituted the strength of that important place, and carried it with the loss of only twenty men.

Nazir Jung, roused by this loss from his voluptuous supineness, at length took the field with an army which, notwithstanding various reductions, still exceeded 100,000 men,—a movement desired by the conspirators as extremely favourable to the execution of their scheme. Time, however, passed on without any decisive event; and the subahdar, tired of a dull contest, which kept him from his favourite enjoyments, made such advantageous overtures that Dupleix entered into a negotiation. The latter, notwithstanding, imitating the wiles of Indian policy, still kept his communications open with the rebellious omrahs. It has been said that the treaty with Nazir Jung was actually signed, though not communicated to Latouche, who had succeeded to the command of the French troops, when that

officer was summoned by the Afghan insurgents to hasten and co-operate in the execution of their design. Latouche accordingly advanced, and at four next morning attacked that part of the camp where the subahdar commanded in person. The conflict was sharp, the Indian cavalry fighting with great bravery; but the discipline of the French, and the rapidity with which their cannon was served, enabled them gradually to penetrate into the heart of the hostile encampment. Nazir Jung, not destitute of personal valour, indignantly saw his troops giving way before a handful of Europeans; and being told that a large corps, under the command of the confederate chiefs and their adherents, were not joining in the action, he rode up and began to reproach them bitterly for their cowardice. Cudapah, the leader whom he first addressed, made an insulting reply, and then discharged a carabine, by which two balls were lodged in the heart of Nazir, who fell dead on the spot. For an Indian army to pass from one prince to his assassin and enemy is only the work of a moment. Mirzapha Jung was taken out of irons, led forth, and universally acknowledged Soubah of the Deccan, a region superior in magnitude to any European kingdom.

This revolution had the immediate effect of completely establishing the influence of the French in Southern India. Mirzapha, reposing entire confidence in Dupleix, visited him at Pondicherry, and was there installed with the greatest pomp in the throne of the Deccan. This obsequious officer was created governor under the Mogul, and collector of the revenue in all the countries south of the Kistna, a territory little inferior in extent to France; con-

siderable districts round each of the three towns of Pondicherry, Carical, and Masulipatan, were also ceded in perpetuity. But the victorious parties found themselves in that anxious and difficult position which inevitably arises from the alliance of those who own no law human or divine. The Patan chiefs made most enormous demands,—to which, according to the maxims of treason, they seemed really entitled. Yet the fulfilment of these, and of others which would have followed, must have reduced Mirzapha Jung nearly to a cipher. Dupleix strongly represented to them the necessity of accepting much lower terms; and probably, from feeling themselves to be in his power, they appeared at the moment cordially to acquiesce. When, however, Mirzapha left Pondicherry, and advanced into the interior of the Deccan, he learned that the defiles in his front were occupied by those very chiefs assembled in arms to dispute his passage. The prince, ambitious to display his valour, marched and began the attack before his French allies came up, in consequence of which he suffered some loss. Afterwards, with their aid, he had the prospect of a complete victory, when he engaged in single combat with the Nabob of Canoul, by whom he was pierced through the head with a javelin, and instantly fell dead. Bussy, the French minister, was at first in the deepest consternation, imagining the influence of his country in the affairs of the Deccan to be terminated, when he recollected that three brothers of the deceased monarch were prisoners in the camp. Obtaining the concurrence of the principal native leaders, he raised to the throne Salabat Jung, the eldest, in preference to the infant

son of the fallen soubah. The new sovereign, feeling himself indebted to the French for his elevation, espoused their interests with an ardour equal to that of his predecessor.

The English for some time contemplated with singular apathy this extensive aggrandizement of their rivals. Major Laurence, who seems to have been no politician, having formerly, by his desertion of Nazir Jung, lost his influence in the Indian councils, now, in the most critical period of French ascendency, left India and returned home on private business. At length the subjects of Louis began to assume a deportment so lofty as convinced the English of their danger, should this ambitious enemy continue masters of the south of India. They sent, therefore, a body of troops under Captain Cope to defend Trichinopoly, the only strong position which their ally, Mohammed Ali, still retained in the Carnatic; but this officer lost a great part of his men in an unfortunate attempt upon Madura. Captain Gingen was then sent from Fort St David with a larger detachment; but it also gave very little earnest of the glory that the English were afterwards to earn in Indian warfare. Having encountered the enemy near the fort of Volconda, they were instantly seized with a panic, and while the natives stood their ground, the Europeans fled; thus rendering themselves an object of derision even to these undisciplined allies. They fought better on two subsequent occasions; but at length, without attempting to master the enemy in the field, they hastened to throw themselves into Trichinopoly.

The English afterwards sent another detachment, which raised the European part of the garrison to

600 men; but as the French and Chunda Saheb, then Nabob of Arcot, were besieging it with a force greatly superior, there was much reason to fear, that without some farther effort this last barrier against French dominion must ultimately fall. A new character, however, at this crisis began to act a most brilliant part on the scene. Clive, the son of a gentleman of small property in Shropshire, had gone out in a civil capacity; but his violent and turbulent conduct had displeased his superiors, and made him be considered as an intractable youth. On the breaking out of the war he obtained leave to enter the army as an ensign, and soon showed himself better qualified for this new line of action; where, indeed, he distinguished himself so much as to be employed in several confidential situations. He proposed to make a diversion in favour of Trichinopoly, by an attack on Arcot, the nabob's capital. Having obtained 500 men, of whom only 200 were Europeans, and partly made up by volunteers from the civil service, he proceeded on this daring expedition. He approached Arcot; and the garrison of the fort, merely on witnessing the intrepidity with which the English advanced amid a tempest of thunder and rain, were seized with a panic, and evacuated the city. Clive did not allow them to recover from their consternation, but pursued and obliged them to retreat from one point to another.

The object of this enterprise was forthwith realized, in a large body of the besiegers of Trichinopoly being drawn away to attempt the delivery of Arcot. Troops were brought to the amount of 4000, reinforced by 2000 from Vellore. According to his bold policy, Clive endeavoured to intimidate

them by an attack on the city in which these forces were stationed,—an imprudent step; for the most undisciplined hordes, fighting under the cover which streets and buildings afford, are a match for the bravest soldiers. The natives from the houses poured down a destructive fire, and obliged the English commander to retreat with a loss which he could very ill spare. He had then a hard task, to defend with 300 men fortifications a mile in circuit, consisting only of a feeble wall, and a ditch fordable in many places. He had thus full scope for the brilliant military talents with which he was endowed. Lieutenant Innis, sent with a reinforcement from Madras, was intercepted and obliged to return. But Morari Rao, commander of a body of 6000 Mahrattas, who had deserted the nabob's cause when it appeared desperate, was animated by the valour of Clive, and promised his support. At length, on the morning of the 14th of November, the great Mussulman festival, and a day deemed peculiarly auspicious for warlike achievements, the enemy made a general assault. They rushed on with a species of madness, and when one detachment was driven back, another instantly followed. Clive was obliged to stand to the guns himself, and assist in firing them. But the enemy were at length repulsed; and finally raised the siege. The English commander, being thus left master of the field, scoured the country in different directions, took possession of several important posts, and then returned to Madras.

Meantime the force defending Trichinopoly was receiving continual accessions. Major Laurence, having arrived from Britain with a large reinforcement, set out himself for that city with 400 Euro-

peans and 1100 sepoys. Mohammed Ali allured into his service Morari Rao, and by liberal promises even induced the Regent of Mysore to come to his assistance; and these allies formed a corps of 20,000 men. By these additions the English and their friends became decidedly superior to their opponents, whom they determined without hesitation to attack in the open field. The French and their confederates no sooner discovered this intention than they retreated and took up a position in the fortified pagoda of Seringham, strongly situated in an island formed by the branches of the Coleroon and the Cavery. Here, however, they were closely pressed by the combined armies; while the adherents of Chunda Saheb, considering his cause as desperate, deserted in large bands. That unfortunate prince at length delivered himself up to the King of Tanjore, with a promise of protection, which was basely violated, and he was immediately assassinated. The French troops also capitulated, and were conveyed prisoners of war to Fort St David and Trichinopoly.

The highest satisfaction was now felt by the English, who considered themselves complete masters of the Carnatic. But at Pondicherry this loss spread the deepest consternation, relieved only by the secret joy of those who viewed with disgust the haughty conduct of Dupleix, and exulted in the failure of his ambitious schemes. Yet at this very time he was acting a splendid part on a greater scale. His agent, Bussy, having, in the manner above related, placed Salabat Jung on the throne of the Deccan, after assisting to inflict punishment on the murderer of his predecessor, marched along with the

prince to Golconda and Aurungabad, where he assumed the government with every circumstance of oriental pomp. His pretensions, however, were not sanctioned by the Mogul court, who conferred the sovereignty on Ghazee-ud-Dien, the legitimate claimant, as eldest son to Nizam-ul-Mulk. At the same time the country was harassed by the attacks of a numerous and active Mahratta force; so that Salabat Jung could hope to maintain his power only by French aid, and therefore made Bussy the chief director of his councils.

Dupleix, not content with these advantages, was indefatigable in his efforts to restore the French ascendency in the Carnatic; and the continual fluctuation in the plans and alliances of Indian potentates afforded him the means sooner than could have been expected. With oriental princes, when in distress and applying for aid, it is the invariable practice to promise whatever is asked; but who, when their deliverance is effected, study to perform as little as possible. After the complete triumph of the British arms and those of Mohammed Ali, Major Laurence was astounded by the intelligence that this prince had stipulated, as the price of the assistance which he obtained from the Mysorean chief, the surrender to him of Trichinopoly and its territory; and the fulfilment of this engagement was now imperiously demanded. Mohammed, on being interrogated, admitted the promise, which he imputed to the necessity of circumstances, but strenuously denied the slightest intention of ever performing it. He affected even to believe it impossible that his ally could have seriously expected the execution of so extravagant a stipulation; and he undertook to induce him to

rest satisfied with the present cession of Madura, and the illusory promise of obtaining Trichinopoly at a future period. After much negotiation, and seeing that he could gain nothing more, the other feigned to appear contented. Yet Major Laurence, easily perceiving the regent's secret resentment, advised the Company either honourably to deliver up the city, or resolutely to seize his person and that of Morari Rao, and thereby prevent the hostile machinations which might easily be foreseen. The Company followed neither of these counsels; and the chief continued to meditate on plans of future vengeance. The commanders of several fortresses were encouraged, by the knowledge of his present disposition, to make head against Mohammed Ali,—among whom was the Governor of Gingee, the strongest of all; and the English, in attempting to reduce the place, were repulsed by the French. Dupleix sent a large body of troops, which entered the territory of Fort St David, and at the same time captured a Swiss detachment proceeding thither by sea from Madras. Major Laurence then marched out, and encountered him at Bahoor, two miles from the city. The English, charging with the bayonet, broke the centre of the enemy, who threw down their arms and fled in every direction; and had not the native cavalry occupied themselves in plunder, the rout would have been complete. This advantage was followed up by Captain Clive with the reduction, under considerable difficulties, of the forts of Covelong and Chingleput; after which the state of his health obliged him to return to England, and deprived the army of his important services.

The Mysorean general, after beginning to nego-

tiate with the French, had been induced to pause by the intelligence of the victory gained by the English; but, learning that it had not produced any decisive results, he concluded the treaty in conjunction with the Mahratta chief, Morari Rao, who had been also dissatisfied with his share of the booty. Dupleix likewise drew over Mortiz Ali, the governor of Vellore, by holding out to him the hope of being himself raised to the dignity of nabob. Then the French troops, in conjunction with the native forces, laid close siege to Trichinopoly. Major Laurence was stunned by the unexpected intelligence that, through the negligence of the commander, this important place did not contain provisions for more than fifteen days. He was therefore obliged to hasten instantly with his whole army to its relief. The troops suffered considerably by a rapid march in the midst of the hot season; but they succeeded without opposition in entering the city. The major was then able to open a communication with the southern districts for a supply of necessaries, and obtained some assistance from the Rajah of Tanjore, whose alliance, however, like that of all Indian princes, wavered with every variation of fortune. It became impossible in this scarcity to supply the inhabitants of so great a city as Trichinopoly, who, to the number of 400,000, were compelled to quit the place, and seek temporary shelter elsewhere; and the immense circuit of its walls was occupied only by the 2000 men composing the garrison. The provisioning of this important fortress now became the principal object of contest, the entire strength of both sides being drawn around it. The French, with an immensely superior force, placed themselves

in positions by which the entrance of convoys from the south was completely intercepted; but Major Laurence twice attacked them, and, though with very inferior numbers, drove them from their posts, and opened the way for his supplies. On no former occasion had the valour of the English troops, and their superiority to those of the enemy, been more signally displayed. The garrison, however, had nearly, by their own supineness, forfeited the benefit of all these exertions. One morning at three, when the guard had fallen fast asleep, the French advanced to the attack, applied their scaling-ladders, made themselves masters of a battery, and were advancing into the city, when several of the soldiers happened to fall into a deep pit; their cries alarmed their companions, some of whom fired their muskets. The assailants thus conceiving themselves to be discovered, made a general discharge, beat their drums, and advanced with shouts of *Vive le Roi.* Happily a considerable body of English troops was quartered near the spot, who were immediately led on by Lieutenant Harrison to such an advantageous position, and directed with such judgment, that the leaders of the storming-party were soon cut down, the ladders carried off or broken, and all of the enemy who had entered, to the number of 360, were made prisoners. Thus the enterprise, at first so promising, caused to the French a loss greater than any sustained by them during the course of this memorable siege. Soon after, however, an English detachment, being sent out to escort a convoy of provisions, was attacked by a corps of 18,000 natives and 400 Europeans. An inexperienced officer, who had the command, drew up his men in small parties at wide

intervals. Suddenly Morari Rao and Innis Khan, with 12,000 Mysorean horse, advanced with loud shouts at full gallop and charged this ill-constructed line. The English had scarcely time to fire one volley, when they found their ranks broken by the enemy's cavalry. Deserted by the sepoys, they were left, only 180 in number, without any hope of escape; upon which they determined to sell their lives as dear as possible. The whole were either killed or taken, including a company of grenadiers, who had acted a prominent part in all the late victories.

Amid these gallant exploits, the siege of Trichinopoly was protracted a year and a half, during which neither the French nor their numerous allies obtained any decisive advantage. Mr Mill considers the object as very unworthy of such strenuous efforts; yet it ought to be remembered, that the English were deciding on that spot the destiny of the Carnatic, and perhaps the very existence of their establishment in India. To have yielded in such circumstances might have realized the views of Dupleix, whose boast it was, that he would reduce Madras to a mere fishing-village.

Important events were meantime taking place at the court of the Deccan, where we left Bussy with his detachment dictating or directing every movement. This influence indeed he seemed entitled to expect, both from the generosity and prudence of Salabat Jung, who had been raised by the French to his present lofty station, and by them alone was maintained in it against the Mahrattas, and Ghazee-ud-Dien, whom the Mogul had authorized to expel him. The latter, however, as he was approaching with a prodigious army, died suddenly,

not without suspicion, perhaps unjust, of having been poisoned by the adherents of his rival. Salabat Jung being thus relieved from apprehension, the great men at his court viewed with much indignation the thraldom of their master to a handful of strangers, and urged him to adopt measures for extricating himself from this humiliating situation. At their suggestion he took certain steps, which were favoured by a temporary absence of Bussy. The pay of the troops was withheld, and on plausible pretexts they were broken into detachments and sent into different quarters. Bussy, however, on his return, immediately reassembled them ; and his own force, aided by the alarm of a Mahratta invasion, enabled him completely to dictate terms to the subahdar. He procured the dismissal of the hostile ministers ; and, taking advantage of the accumulated arrears of pay, demanded and obtained, as a security against future deficiencies, the cession of an extensive range of country on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa, including the Northern Circars. This, in addition to former acquisitions, gave to the French a territory 600 miles in extent, reaching from Medapilly to the pagoda of Juggernaut, and yielding a revenue of £855,000.

The heads of the two European presidencies, being urged by instructions from home to endeavour to bring their differences to a termination, opened a negotiation for peace. They began with the farce of examining the titles by which each held their respective possessions from the native powers, and particularly the Mogul ; but the English alleging, seemingly with some reason, that the documents produced by the French were forged, proposed to

reject this mode of decision altogether, and proceed at once to the only effectual plan of treating, that, namely, which had a reference to the actual strength of each party. Upon this ground some mutual propositions were made, but which were found too inconsistent to afford any hope of agreement.

Meantime this Indian contest had given rise to warm discussions between the two governments in Europe. France had never favoured the system of encroachment followed by her viceroy. This aversion was greatly strengthened by the warm remonstrances of the English cabinet, who began to fit out a somewhat formidable expedition for India. After some discussion, it was agreed that commissioners from each state should be sent, with full powers to adjust the differences, rather upon equitable principles satisfactory to both parties, than from any consideration of their comparative strength and acquisitions. When Godheu, the French envoy, arrived at Pondicherry to supersede Dupleix, considerable anxiety was felt as to the manner in which the tidings would be received by that haughty ruler. He had assumed the most lofty bearing, invested himself with the dress and ensigns of a Mogul viceroy, and had often obliged the officers whom he admitted to audience to fall down on their knees before him. His whole soul, too, was understood to be absorbed in the magnificent project of making France supreme in India. But he was too sound a politician not to perceive that all resistance was now vain. He yielded with a good grace, and was treated and sent home with honour and respect. The Company indeed gave him a cold reception, and refused to repay nearly £400,000 which he had ex-

pended out of his private fortune and credit in extending their dominion. All the historians inveigh bitterly against this treatment; yet it is impossible not to remark, that the ambitious and warlike policy of Dupleix, in furtherance of which he lavished immense treasures, was in direct opposition to the system which the Company, wisely we think, were anxious to pursue. They thought themselves not at all obliged to him for spending vast sums in the attempt to make them masters of India against their will. No individual or body of men seems bound to replace advances which, although made on their account, were made not only without but even contrary to their instructions. The government, when appealed to, sanctioned the conduct of the Company, though at the same time they gave to Dupleix a strange and iniquitous compensation, by granting letters of protection against any prosecution which might be raised by his creditors.

The French commissioner, and Mr Saunders, the English governor, immediately proceeded to arrange a treaty, with a view at once to the protection of the native states against encroachment, and the equitable adjustment of the points in dispute between the two European powers. It was stipulated by the very first article, that all the cessions obtained from the Moors (as the Indian princes were then called) should be restored by both parties, with the exception only of certain maritime stations, to be retained for the security of trade; and these were to be so selected, that the two nations should in each particular district of the coast be nearly on a footing of equality. The terms of this arrangement were in general very favourable to the English.

The portions of territory which they were obliged to renounce were comparatively small, and their ally, Mohammed Ali, was left undisputed ruler of the Carnatic; while the French resigned the immense possessions which they had acquired in Orissa and the Northern Circars.

But this treaty, which was expected to have adjusted finally all differences between the two countries, scarcely produced a suspension of hostilities. The English, having secured Mohammed Ali, their candidate, as Nabob of the Carnatic, considered themselves bound, and perhaps felt inclined to support him against the numerous enemies by whom he was still surrounded. The Regent of Mysore declared himself determined not to recede from his pretensions to Trichinopoly, which rendered it necessary to maintain a corps for the defence of that fortress. The enemy, however, were considered so little formidable, that Captain Kilpatrick, who commanded in the place, learning that the regent was forming a plan for its attack, sent a message, that if he chose to come, he himself would throw open the gates and meet him. The English also agreed to send another corps to establish the rajah's authority and collect the revenue in the provinces of Madura and Tinnevelly. This promised to be an easy and profitable task, in which some share of the proceeds would probably fall into their own hands. They were very much disappointed in both respects. These countries are occupied by an almost savage race, called the Colleries, who, in their habits of robbery and predatory warfare, can scarcely be surpassed. They have their abode in the heart of dense and inaccessible forests, whence they issue to plunder the cattle

of the surrounding districts, and boast of their dexterity in performing these thefts, as if they were the most heroic exploits. Their chief ambition is to enrich their family and tribe, for which they brave death with the utmost intrepidity. Two brothers who had stolen a vast number of horses were apprehended and brought before Major Laurence, who ordered them to be hanged. One of them offered, if leave were given him, to go and bring back, within two days, the stolen animals, while his brother should remain as a hostage. His request was granted; but the time having elapsed, the prisoner was sent for and examined, when he very composedly expressed his astonishment that they should have been so silly as to imagine his brother would think of restoring so many valuable prizes, which were sufficient to make the fortune of the whole family. It was a clever trick: as for himself, having often hazarded his life for objects comparatively trifling, he was quite ready to die in so honourable a cause. Laurence was so amused with the fellow's impudence, that on Clive's intercession he dismissed him. The Colleries occupied a range of hills, the passes or intervals of which were fortified with walls of large and loose stones, and with a broad and deep ditch, in front of which was a hedge of bamboo-canes, so thick that it could not be penetrated but by fire or the axe. The natives defended these fastnesses with the utmost obstinacy; and, though they did not face the English in the open field, were continually on the watch to cut off their detachments. One small body being found asleep, were all speared in a few minutes; and the whole army, as it once marched in a careless manner through a

defile near Madura, had its rear suddenly assailed, and suffered great loss. Thus, after a hard campaign, the troops did not collect revenue enough to defray the expense of the expedition, and had afterwards to struggle through several years of tedious and fruitless warfare.

The French, when they saw their enemies thus actively employed, felt disposed to imitate their example. Finding them entirely occupied with the war in Madura, they made a hasty march upon Trichinopoly, which was then nearly defenceless; but that city was saved by a most rapid march on the part of Captain Calliaud. A straggling and predatory warfare was for some time waged between the two nations, when events ensued that gave a new and more important character to the contest.

On the breaking out of the memorable war in 1756 between Britain and France, the latter determined to make the most vigorous efforts to acquire an ascendency in India. The government fitted out an extensive armament, the command of which they intrusted to Count Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, who, among many brilliant displays of personal valour, had, at the battle of Fontenoy, taken several English officers prisoners with his own hand. Cherishing the strongest attachment to his late master, the unfortunate and misguided James II., he felt also the most deadly antipathy to the English name, and looked, as his highest pride, to being the instrument in subverting their eastern dominion. He sailed from Brest on the 4th May 1757, but had so tedious a voyage, accompanied with severe sickness among his crew, that he did not land at Pondicherry till the 25th April 1758.

So eager was Lally to accomplish his object, that though he did not reach the shore till five in the afternoon, before night closed he had troops on their march to besiege Fort St David, which was still considered the strongest and most important of the English settlements. By this indiscreet haste, in which no regard was paid to the convenience, opinion, or prejudices of his followers, he created a spirit of animosity and even of resistance, which much impeded his future movements. He even arrived at the place without due information as to the strength or position of the works. However, he pushed the siege with extraordinary vigour; while the garrison made an injudicious defence, throwing away their shot on insignificant objects, till at length, when they were hard pressed, their ammunition proved extremely deficient. The enemy having, on the 1st of June, advanced their trenches to the foot of the glacis, and opened such a fire that the artillerymen could scarcely stand to their guns, it was judged necessary to surrender; the troops became prisoners of war; and this fortress, the capital of the English settlements, was razed to the ground.

Lally returned to Pondicherry in the highest exultation, and determined to lose no time in following up his design of extirpating the English from India. With this view he took a step which involved him in deep reproach. Bussy, amid the violent revolutions at the court of the Deccan, and the most deadly jealousy among its leading men, had succeeded in completely maintaining the French influence. He had acquired the full command of the Circars, where he reduced Vizagapatan, an important English factory. Now, however, he was or-

dered by Lally to quit this court, that he might be able to unite all his forces, first in reducing Madras, and then in attacking the newly-formed settlements of the enemy in Bengal. Bussy remonstrated strongly against renouncing his brilliant prospects for uncertain advantages; but the other, imperious and self-willed, would listen to nothing, and insisted upon implicit compliance with his own views.

Notwithstanding the reinforcement obtained by so great a sacrifice, Lally, from the want of funds, was scarcely in a condition to attempt any enterprise of importance. In hopes of relieving this distress he resolved upon an expedition against the Rajah of Tanjore, to extort the fulfilment of an old engagement to pay five millions of rupees. This enterprise, however, was conducted in a manner rash and revolting to the natives; and even after penetrating to the town, and commencing the siege, he was obliged by the scarcity of provisions and ammunition to withdraw. He soon obtained possession of Arcot and certain other places in the Carnatic, from whence he drew some supplies. Being then joined by Bussy, he deemed it expedient to commence the siege of Madras; and he carried it on upwards of two months, though under great difficulties. The garrison, however, consisting of 1758 Europeans and 2420 natives, commanded by Governor Pigot and the veteran Laurence, made the most gallant defence. The siege was terminated by the appearance, on the 16th February, of a squadron of six English vessels, containing six hundred fresh troops. As soon as this fleet hove in sight, the French army, without waiting their commander's orders, began to retreat with the utmost precipita-

tion, and the general had not time to execute his cruel purpose of burning the Black Town.

It is admitted by Lally himself, that, owing to their deep hatred of him, his return in this discomfited state to Pondicherry was viewed as a subject of triumph by the principal officers, and even by the greater part of the inhabitants. Every thing now presented to his eyes a disastrous aspect. The English took the field, and began to reconquer the Carnatic. The French general, in attempting to check their career, was defeated at Wandewash, and obliged to retreat upon Pondicherry. It was evident that the French dominion in India was fast approaching to a close. Lally has acknowledged, that if, after the battle of Wandewash, the English had marched direct upon Pondicherry, they might have become masters of it in a few days. But they spent the next three months in reducing the different strong places in the Carnatic, including Carical, the only other seaport which remained to their adversary. Having obtained repeated reinforcements, which the other party looked for in vain, they were enabled to close in around Pondicherry, and make preparations for its actual siege. Lally, in this desperate state of his affairs, obtained by high promises an auxiliary force from Hyder, now master of Mysore; but his troops, after remaining about a month, became discouraged by the manifest weakness of their allies; and, being impelled by urgent matters at home, they broke up without giving notice, and departed for their own country.

Lally made a spirited attempt to retrieve his affairs by a midnight attack on the enemy's camp, and succeeded in carrying several posts of some import-

ance; but the gallantry of the British, and the tardy arrival of one of his divisions, caused his final repulse. By the end of September 1760, Pondicherry was so closely blockaded both by sea and land, that only a very scanty supply of provisions could be introduced. Two out of three large ships that were lying in port were surprised in the night and carried off. On the 27th November, the commander, who had long urged the necessity of the measure, insisted on carrying into effect the expulsion of the black inhabitants. To the number of 1400 they were thrust out of the gates, but were refused a passage by the English, who foresaw that the garrison would thus hold out for a somewhat longer period. The unhappy creatures wandered about the glacis, picking up plants and roots of grass, and imploring either an entrance into the city or a passage through the army. Both parties stood firm for a week, at the end of which time Colonel Coote's humanity induced him to allow this wretched band to pass into the country. They were in the most exhausted state, and had nowhere to look for refuge; yet they were extremely grateful even for this chance of preservation.

It was not till the 12th January 1761, that the trenches were regularly opened,—an operation which was effected with ease and rapidity, as the enemy scarcely offered any resistance. Their spirit seems to have been completely gone, and they had provisions left for only two days. On the 14th two deputations arrived,—one from Lally, and the other from the governor and council. The former merely stated, that certain alleged violations by the English of the faith of treaties prevented him from

entering into any regular capitulation, but that, pressed by the necessity of circumstances, he yielded the place, and surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war. The governor and council asked some terms for the inhabitants; but, as matters stood, every thing rested with the discretion of the English, who, however, promised to act in general with consideration and humanity. Colonel Coote entered the city, and in three days after Lally set sail for Europe.

On his arrival in France, a tragical scene ensued. The nation were by this time worked up to a high degree of discontent by the severe disasters, which, during this war, when the British resources were directed by the genius of Pitt, had befallen their arms in every quarter of the globe. The loss of India raised their indignation to the highest pitch; and they loudly demanded a victim. Lally, with his usual violence, presented a formal accusation against Bussy and three others connected with him in the administration, as having, out of enmity to himself, ruined the French affairs. The impeachment appears to have been ill-founded, and the parties accused retaliated by charging him with having caused that unfortunate issue by a series of acts, which, as they alleged, inferred more than incapacity. The voice of individuals returning from India, who had been alienated by his hasty temper, was generally hostile to him. On their testimony, the attorney-general thought himself justified in founding a charge of high treason; which appears to have been altogether groundless. Many of Lally's proceedings, it is true, were rash and imprudent, and his outrageous manner, provoking the enmity both of

the French and natives was very injurious to the interests of the Company and the government. But to constitute high treason there must have been an intention to betray these interests; instead of which his faults appear to have rather proceeded from a blind and headlong zeal. Being arraigned of this high crime, he was removed from the Bastile to an humbler prison, and, according to the ungenerous practice of France, was denied the aid of counsel. The parliament of Paris, a too numerous though highly respectable body, were so far wrought upon as to pronounce sentence of death; against which Seguier and Pellot, two of their most distinguished members, protested; and Voltaire hesitates not to call it a judicial murder. The unfortunate Lally, when it was announced to him, lifted his hands to heaven, exclaiming—"Is this the reward of forty-five years' service?" and endeavoured to stab himself with a pair of compasses. He was prevented, and conveyed next day in a common cart to the *Place de Grève*, where he underwent the unjust sentence of the law.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

Oliver & Boyd, Printers.

3

22

BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Murray, Hugh, 1779-1846

Historical and descriptive account of British India, from the most remote period to the present time ...

Bd.: 1

Edinburgh 1833

Bibl.Mont. 3559-1
urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10723186-7